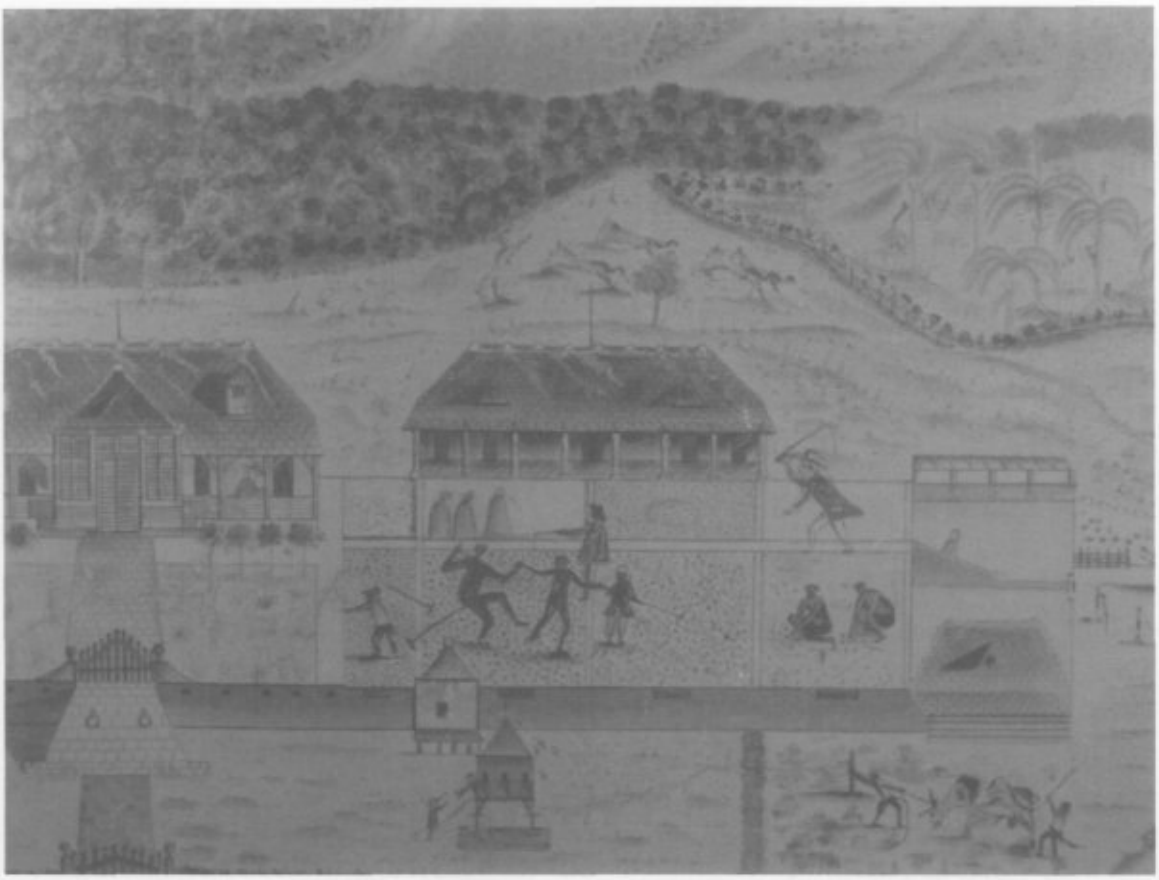
Maryland Historical Magazine



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Editor's Corner

Almost all articles that appear in the magazine deal with particular topics treated in some depth. In this issue we pair two essays that take a long view of Maryland history—following the threads of Caribbean contact and political swing from founding to the recent past. I hope the change refreshing. I deeply thank the staff members, listed above, who now help to publish the magazine.

Cover design: Detail from a watercolor of the Chatard Plantation, Saint Domingue, 1789. Artist unknown. (Courtesy of Josephine Chatard Whitman; photo by Mary Ellen Hayward).

Maryland and the Caribbean, 1634–1984: Some Highlights

GLENN O. PHILLIPS

Caribbean peoples, the experiences of Marylanders in the Caribbean, and the Chesapeake-Caribbean trade have influenced Maryland in each of its past 350 years.[1] British colonists settled both places under proprietors who exercised authority to raise revenue. Settlers in both areas grew tobacco for the British market and suffered the diseases and privations that decimated them at the onset of colonization. In the beginning, newcomers to Maryland and the British West Indies alike relied on indentured servants to meet their labor demands and within half a century turned to African slaves to work their staple crops. Both areas, under British law, felt the constraints of the strictly enforced eighteenth-century Navigation Acts. Geographical proximity and related economic activity of the two regions made it possible for their peoples to interact in many ways during these formative years and to continue a healthy and colorful relationship for over three and a-half centuries.

The Caribbean played a helping role in the very settlement of Maryland. In early 1634, both of Lord Baltimore's vessels, the *Ark* and the *Dove,* put into Barbados for the "seed corne" and other provisions that Governor Leonard Calvert doubted the Virginians would supply.[2] The stay also furnished Maryland-bound settlers with lessons in the tensions of colonial life. Those aboard the *Ark* discovered on their arrival that only days before African slaves and white indentured servants had organized a conspiracy to overthrow their masters. The rebels apparently planned to flee on the first ship that visited the island. Though the *Ark* was that vessel, Barbadian planters already had uncovered the supposed plot and executed some of its leaders. The oppressive nature of white indentureship and African slavery in the Caribbean already had led many servants to spontaneous acts of desperation.

No evidence proves beyond doubt that Caribbean inhabitants or colonists left the British West Indies with the Calvert party. Yet the expanding Barbadian population in the 1630s and a land shortage on the island forced persons who had completed their terms of indentured service to view the mainland as far more attractive than remaining behind. When in 1630 Henry Colt visited Barbados, he observed a large number of former servants eager to leave the island; some of them had climbed aboard the ship he sailed on. The Maryland settlers had lost some of their number during the voyage from Cowes to the West Indies. Possibly a few free blacks and/or white ex-servants from the Caribbean, filling gaps left by death, also

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traveled the last leg of the journey from St. Christopher to Maryland as the early settlers' list[3] seems to suggest.

The Chesapeake and the Caribbean became proud examples of successful British colonization in the New World, which cartographers eagerly portrayed for the benefit of princes, potential investors, and would-be settlers. In 1669 Richard Blome, a well connected landowner and member of England's Stationers' Company,[4] drew an unusually colorful image of the Americas for a volume he published in London entitled *A Geographical Description of the Four Parts of the World* (1670). Blome included a map of Maryland and the Caribbean, which he dedicated to the colony's proprietor, Lord Baltimore. Blome's fifteen-by-twenty-two-inch map may have been no more flawed than any other seventeenth century chart (see figure 1), but in diminishing the distance between the Caribbean and Chesapeake ports, he apparently had in mind another kind of "closeness." Blome implied that the Maryland-built vessels travelling between the Caribbean and Capes Henry and Charles, the slowly growing dependency of West Indian sugar planters on Maryland foodstuffs, and the reliance of both economies on bonded labor had tied these lands together. Both colonies were successful and easily accessible.

Slavery promoted especially tight bonds between the two regions after the late seventeenth century, when black slaves became a more attractive investment in Maryland than white servants. The Maryland statutes that created a system of black chattel slavery (largely enacted between 1640 and 1660) borrowed principles from the Mother Country and language from West Indian slave laws.[5] Maryland and the

FIGURE 1. Richard Blome's *A New Map of America Septentrionale* (1669), highlights and magnifies the size of the Maryland colony and its proximity to the Caribbean. It is specifically dedicated to the Second Lord Baltimore and bears the Calvert family coat of arms. (Rare Books Collection, Library of Congress.)

English Caribbean colonies drew on the same English "statute against vagabonds" of 1553 to form their early slave codes. More important, Marylanders used the West Indies as a black-labor source. Records show that on 13 July 1703 a slaver called *Pinck Mary* brought fifty-five slaves to Maryland from Barbados and about two years later the sloop *Swallow* brought another seventy-one.[6] About ten percent of all slaves recorded as arriving in Maryland during these years came from the Caribbean. The percentage gradually decreased, yet between 1750 and 1773 at least fifty-seven slave ships brought blacks to Maryland from a variety of Caribbean ports. According to ship lists of this period, most came from the English-speaking Caribbean colonies of Bermuda and Barbados, a few others from the French Caribbean colonies.[7]

Thus market forces linked the Chesapeake and the Caribbean. Maryland and Virginia planters generally enjoyed good tobacco crops; the bay, with its rivers and creeks, provided slave traders ready access to a wide cross-section of customers. Blacks from the Caribbean had undergone a "seasoning" process that made them highly valuable.[8] As a result of their experience, West Indian blacks (planters believed) were more tractable, more susceptible to Christian teachings than Africans brought directly from their homeland. They also had learned the work of staple-crop agriculture.

One of the most prosperous Caribbean agricultural ventures appeared in the French colony of Saint Domingue, the pride of France and envy of other European nations. Sugar cane production was the main crop in the colony, but coffee, cotton, cocoa, tobacco and indigo were also grown and exported. The rich soils, elaborate irrigation systems, up-to-date facilities and constant and abundant supply of African slaves contributed to prosperity.

The Chatard plantation was typical of hundreds of Saint Dominiguean plantations of the time. A water-color painting owned by the Chatard family portrays activity on the plantation in April 1789 (figure 2). It shows large plantation houses, the cultivation of crops, livestock, the Chatard family happily touring the estate, and slaves working in the fields—reaping, clearing and planting. The unknown artist pictures slave quarters and the colony's lofty mountains covered with rich vegetation; he includes the highway that connected the plantation with the towns of Plaisance and Le Captien.

By the mid-eighteenth century, after several generations in Maryland, native slaves seemed acclimated to the harsh conditions of servitude; newly imported Caribbean slaves appeared unruly or dangerous by comparison. Planters bought Caribbean slaves only when others were not available, viewing native-born (or Creole) blacks as "safer" investments. Nevertheless, a number of creole slave families in Maryland can be traced to Caribbean origins. According to local black tradition, the slave Charles, whom the Calvert family owned and that mid-seventeen-century records described as "a salt-water Negro," came to St. Mary's County from Barbados.[9] In about 1681 Charles was married to an Irish servant, Eleanor Butler, who also worked for Lord Baltimore. Maryland law at the time (later changed) required that a white woman who married a black slave, as well as their descendants, be enslaved. A 1767 deposition concerning this marriage revealed that Lord Baltimore personally had attempted to prevent the union of Charles and "Irish

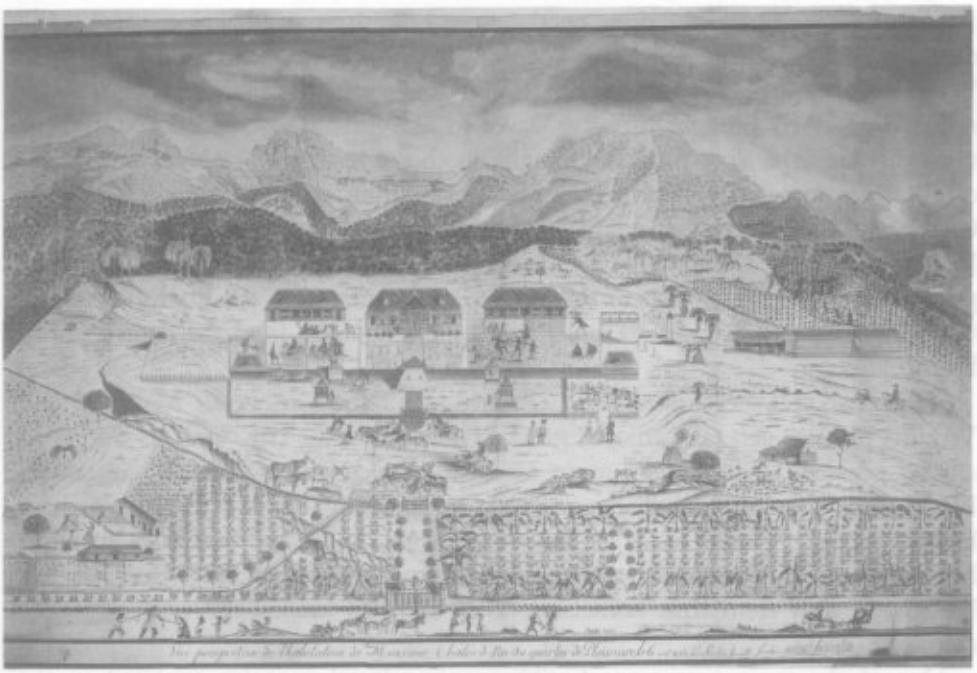

FIGURE 2. The Chatard Plantation in Saint Domingue, just before the Haitian Revolution. (Artist unknown. Courtesy of Josephine Chatard Whitman.)

Nell," as she was called. Calvert informed her that "she would by that means enslave herself and her prosperity," upon which the woman told him that "she [would] rather marry the Negro under them circumstances than marry his lordship with his country." Lord Baltimore's reported response was that "she might go and marry him and be damned."[10] This union produced about eight children and became the nucleus of the Butler family, which in 1790 successfully petitioned for freedom in the Maryland Court of Appeals.

A second black Maryland family, the Quanders, also traces its roots to the Caribbean. The first member of this family was probably Egya Amukwandoh, a young "protector" of his people in the Cape Coast of West Africa, who apparently came to the colony of Maryland as a slave from Barbados in 1684. Perhaps Egya identified himself as "Amukwandoh" while his captors believed him to say, "I am Quando." In more recent times the name was further changed to Quander,[11] and members of the family have maintained contact with the Caribbean.

The slave-trade connection to the Caribbean, remaining strong throughout the eighteenth century, made up only a part of a complex economic relationship that counted heavily in Maryland's commercial growth, even influenced Chesapeake shipbuilding, and eventually played a part in making Baltimore a socially diverse city. Maryland's trade with the Caribbean included food-stuffs, household commodities, and manufactured goods and provided for close interaction. Ships sailed from Annapolis, Oxford, Chestertown, and Baltimore for a variety of Caribbean destinations. Some goods were destined for points beyond. Prior to 1781 part of

Maryland's tobacco trade intended for France was diverted through the West Indies in order to hide its origin and supply a more lucrative market. The Dutch colonies of Saint Eustatius and Curaçoa, the French ports at Saint Domingue, Saint Martin, Martinique, and Guadeloupe sold Maryland tobacco and supplied Marylanders with manufactured goods and military supplies.[12]

During most of the eighteenth century a high percentage of Maryland planters were involved in legitimate trade with their counterparts in the Caribbean. One of the better known Marylanders involved in this trade, Dr. Charles Carroll (1691–1755) was an Irish physician and surgeon who settled in Maryland about 1715. He opened medical practice in Annapolis but after investing his profits in estates gradually became more interested in tobacco planting, land speculation, and Caribbean trading. Carroll shipped large quantities of lumber, staves, wheat, flour, and other goods to the West Indies, often in care of a fellow merchant-planter, Codrington Carrington of Barbados. Carrington supplied the sugar plantations in Barbados with the necessary staple goods coming directly from Maryland and exported sugar products to Maryland. Among other well-known Maryland merchants, Thomas Ringgold of Chestertown in Kent County and Samuel Galloway of Anne Arundel County developed similar trading relationships.[13] The *Maryland Gazette* frequently announced the arrival and departures of schooners, brigantines, and sloops from the Caribbean and often described the goods they brought. Port of Entry records and bills of lading also demonstrated the vitality of the Maryland-Caribbean commerce. Between 29 December 1750 and 20 June 1751, thirteen of twenty-five ships that left Annapolis sailed with goods destined for Caribbean ports. Eighty percent of these ships were built in Maryland and nearly all were registered at Annapolis.[14]

A few colonial Maryland merchants, sea captains, and planter families migrated to the Caribbean, taking with them all their possessions. More often, white families in the Caribbean moved to Maryland and made noteworthy contributions to their new homeland. Richard Potts was born in Maryland, but his Barbadian father took the family to the Caribbean. In 1761, after his father's death, young Richard returned to Maryland. He studied law under Samuel Chase, served as aide-de-camp to Brigadier General Thomas Johnson, commander of the Maryland militia in the Revolutionary War, and was a Maryland delegate to the 1781–1782 Continental Congress. Potts represented Frederick at the convention that ratified the federal Constitution in 1788; he went on briefly to sit in the U.S. Senate, filling the vacancy made by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and later to serve as associate judge of Maryland Court of Appeals.

During much of the nineteenth century, wheat remained in great demand throughout the Caribbean, and Baltimore became known as "the granary of the West Indies." Vessels travelling between Baltimore and the West Indies were able to make the voyage a day faster than ships sailing from other eastern grain ports. Baltimore wheat withstood quick spoilage. For decades, merchants and traders in the Caribbean regarded "Baltimore flour" as among the best in the world.[15]

Leading Baltimore merchants profited heavily from the Caribbean trade. Robert Oliver established a permanent agent at Vera Cruz, on the eastern coast of Mexico, to deal with ships that traded in the Caribbean. Edward Hall had business and even travelled extensively in the Caribbean. His major contacts were in Haiti, Cuba,

and Jamaica. Another company, run by the Douglass brothers, Richard J. and William, traded in many Caribbean countries, importing sugar, coffee and cotton. Commercial ties between Maryland firms and Caribbean producers grew stronger as the nineteenth century progressed.[16]

Maryland vessels of all varieties traversed the Caribbean Sea but the most successful was the "Baltimore Clipper." This schooner was greatly influenced by two Caribbean designs, those of the "Jamaica sloops" and later the "Bermuda sloops." Maryland ship owners and captains used Caribbean sloops' tall masts and sharp lines to create a distinct design that became the embodiment of agility and swiftness.[17] Meanwhile Caribbean shipbuilders became part of the Maryland industry. Joseph Despeaux, an immigrant from Le Cap Français, the major northern port in St. Domingue, settled in Maryland and built a small shipyard in Baltimore. There in 1810 he completed the *Alexander,* a sleek craft after which many other ships were built and patterned.[18]

Despeaux belonged to a group of about fifteen hundred refugees who in 1793 fled the Saint Dominguean or Haitian revolution and on the evening of 9 July 1793, without fanfare, anchored off Fells Point. Within hours of their arrival, the state's newspapers carried the news and requested public assistance. The *Maryland Journal* obtained pledges and donations that amounted to more than $11,000 in the first three days. Baltimore theater owners sponsored programs to raise money.[19] As more Haitian refugees arrived Congress voted funds to assist them. Maryland

FIGURE 3. Such cruel treatment and horrifying conditions as portrayed in *Der Neger in West Indien* (or *Slave and Master in the Dutch West Indies*) led to the bloody Haitian slave revolt. (Hand-colored lithograph.)

received $2,000 of the total appropriation and spent the sum on the four hundred neediest refugees. Maryland residents from the Eastern Shore to Frederick raised additional funds.[20] Some immigrants were assisted by relatives who had arrived earlier. Many refugees quickly became self-sufficient, finding employment in a wide range of occupations. They opened schools and taught French, drawing, music, fencing and even a type of shorthand. Peter Vandenbassche established a tobacco factory. One immigrant opened a successful wig shop on Gay Street in Baltimore. Louis Pascault catered to varied immigrant interests and operated a French library in the city.[21]

Among these Caribbean immigrants was Dr. François Pierre Chatard, a medical doctor who became a leading medical authority in Baltimore. After the 1800 outbreak of yellow fever in the city, Dr. Chatard served beyond the call of duty in treating seriously ill patients. He was born in 1767 at Le Cap, where his father had overseen a nearby coffee and indigo plantation, filled local office, and worked as a lay druggist. The younger Chatard studied in France, receiving his medical degree in 1788 from the University of Montpellier, and returned to revolutionary Haiti in early 1793. He remained there for two years and four months, serving as the

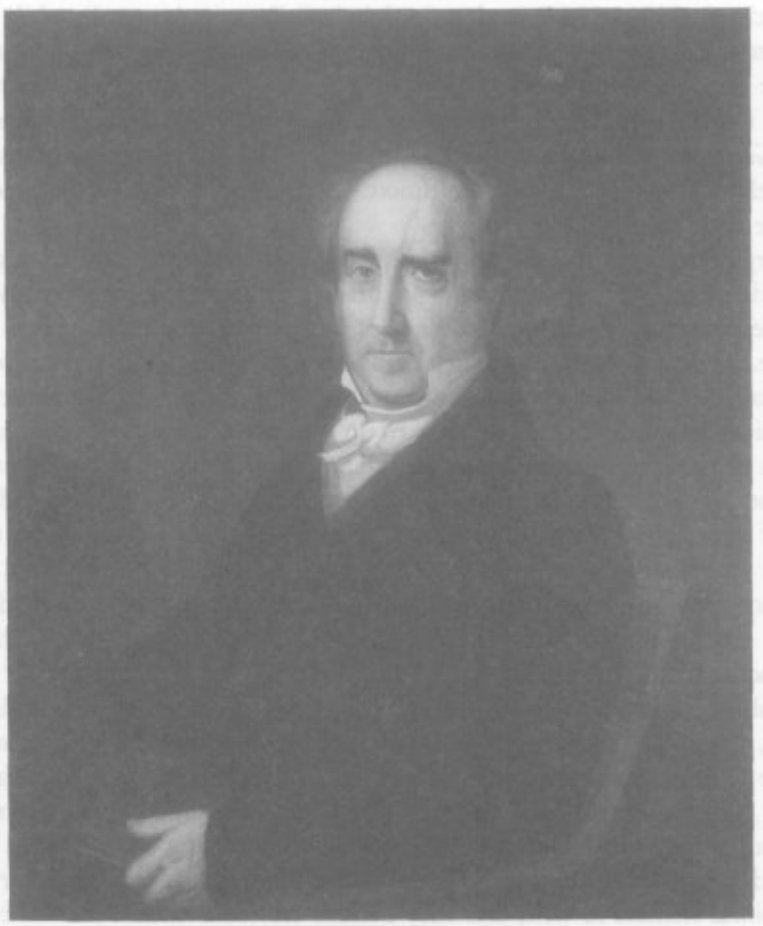

FIGURE 4. Dr. Francois Pierre Chatard (1767–1848), born in Saint Domingue. (Oil painting by Rembrandt Peale. Courtesy of the Chatard Family.)

medical officer for the city of Le Cap until 1800, when he migrated to Baltimore. Dr. Chatard wrote authoritative articles on tropical diseases and their cures for the *Medical Respository,* was appointed consulting physician at Baltimore General Hospital in 1812, and later joined the medical faculty of Washington University.[22] Dr. Chatard also had a successful practice delivering babies throughout the city, and his work in obstetrics and optical medicine laid the foundation for later studies in these fields. Dr. Chatard's son Ferdinand followed his father into the medical profession studying in Edinburgh, London, and Paris. Two of Chatard's grandsons also became physicians. For over one hundred and sixty years, the descendants of this Caribbean immigrant family practiced medicine in the state of Maryland.[23]

The Ducatel family, also from St. Domingue, served their adopted homeland with distinction. Edma Germain Ducatel, who arrived in Baltimore with other immigrants from Saint Domingue, had settled at Le Cap and operated one of the largest drug stores in the colony from 1786 until he fled with the others to Baltimore. Soon he married, raised a family, and established a large pharmacy on Baltimore Street. Ducatel's eldest son, Jules Timolion, studied at St. Mary's College and in Paris learned chemistry, geology, and physiology; after returning to Maryland, Ducatel taught at the Mechanic Institute, the University of Maryland (including its medical school, 1831–1847), and at St. John's College in Annapolis while serving as the state's geologist. Ducatel also wrote a popular manual on toxicology and was a founder and president of the Maryland Academy of Science and Literature.[24] Probably Ducatel's most enduring work is his 1837 publication, *Outlines of the Physical Geography of Maryland,* still authoritative. The Ducatels acquired considerable parcels of real estate around Baltimore. A street in northwest Baltimore still carries the name of this family.

The large number of blacks who came to Maryland from Saint Domingue also quickly adapted to the new environment. Many women immigrants became financially independent as a result of working as hucksters in the marketplaces around Baltimore. Their presence was at first striking. One writer described these hucksters as "tall, middle aged quadroon women, wearing in their ears immense golden hoops, with their heads elegantly decked in particolored bandanna kerchiefs, all wearing a picturesque but unmistakable foreign stamp.[25] Other black Dominguean immigrants worked as gardeners and small farmers around the state introducing a variety of vegetables to Maryland tables. These vegetables included the tomato, okra, and several varieties of pepper. One of the most popular midwives in the city was a black Dominguean named Madame Macorube. Other blacks worked on the wharf. A sizable number were barbers operating throughout the city; Charles J. Boyer practiced his hair-cutting skills in the basement of Miller's Hotel.[26]

Probably the most famous of these Dominguean immigrants was William De Fleurville, who became known as "Billy the Barber." De Fleurville had traveled to Baltimore with his grandmother, attended St. Mary's School, and after learning a trade left Maryland and lived temporarily in the Deep South before settling in Springfield, Illinois. In 1832, with the assistance of a young and generous lawyer, he opened a barbershop in the town. Abraham Lincoln advised De Fleurville on other business matters as well, and they became trusted friends. After Lincoln was elected president and moved to Washington, De Fleurville became caretaker of his property in Illinois and on occasion visited him at the White House.[27]

Religion in Maryland also has been influenced by Caribbean peoples. The Oblate Sisters of Providence—a Catholic religious order, the first of its kind in the United States—emerged in Maryland to serve the spiritual and educational needs of black Catholics. The order survived because of the tenacity of its Caribbean founder and flourished with the assistance of a French Catholic order that arrived in Maryland only a few years before the Caribbean immigrants. The Sulpician Order originated in seventeenth-century France and had sent missionaries to Maryland in 1791. The Dominguean immigrants significantly increased the Catholic population in Maryland. Clergy who came with the refugees were aware of the work of the Sulpicians and, as both groups spoke French, it was a perfect union.[28]

Among the first refugees to turn to the Sulpicians was Louis William Dubourg, a native of Saint Domingue who had undergone religious training at a French Sulpician seminary. After his December 1794 arrival in Baltimore he aligned himself with the Sulpicians and soon entered their society. After serving for four years as president of the fledgling Georgetown College, Dubourg in 1798 returned to the Caribbean and headed a mission to organize a Sulpician seminary in Cuba. He later returned to Maryland and opened a modest school while seeking ways to improve educational facilities in the state. In 1803, then principal of St. Mary's College, he promoted the idea that the state of Maryland should financially assist in educating its poor. During his tenure at St. Mary's Durbourg became a leading benefactor to other religious orders, particularly those promoting the education of women.[29]

FIGURES 5 AND 6. Father Louis William Dubourg (1766–1833), *left*, and Elizabeth Clovis Lange (1783–1882), *right*. Spiritual leaders of the Saint Dominguan refugees who came to Maryland (Sulpician Archives, Baltimore; Archives, Oblate Sisters of Providence, Baltimore.)

Therefore with great enthusiasm, Father Dubourg supported the work of fellow Caribbean immigrant, Elizabeth Clovis Lange. Mother Lange was in her mid-thirties when in the early 1820s she arrived from Cuba. Her father, a French-speaking Catholic, had succeeded as a planter in Saint Domingue; having received an excellent Catholic education, Lange hoped to share it with other blacks in her new home in Maryland. She operated her first school for French-speaking immigrants. It was forced to close for lack of funds, but she was eager to continue. She realized that, while Maryland did not facilitate or fund the education of free blacks, no law prohibited it.

Active in teaching catechism to the black and poor, the Sulpician fathers enlisted Lange's assistance. Father Hector Nicholas Joubert, himself a refugee from Saint Domingue, encouraged Lange to form a religious order that would serve the Afro-Caribbean community in Baltimore. With the financial support of well-to-do white Dominguean immigrants in the city like the Ducatels and the Chatards and some black families like the Arieu's, plans proceeded. In 1828, when the new community began to take shape, it consisted only of Lange and several long-time associates, including Marie Balas and Rosine Boegue. Their school, located near Paca Street in Baltimore, began with twenty-four students, all of whom were French-speaking and three of whom were orphans. Within six months the school had accomplished so much that Lange looked for larger quarters, but a number of influential Baltimoreans grew suspicious of the school and sought to have it closed. The Chatards and other families quickly sold the sisters a house on Pennsylvania Avenue on reasonable financial terms, enabling the work of the school to continue.

Lange and four other novices took their vows on 2 July 1829, establishing the Oblate Sisters of Providence, the first black Roman Catholic order. Elizabeth, soon made superior general, was able to entice Catholics from outside the state to join the sisters, who remained primarily a teaching order. With the aid first of Redemptorist and then Jesuit priests, the Oblate Sisters in 1857 established another school, this one in South Baltimore, specifically for the growing black population in the city. In the 1860s the order opened schools in Philadelphia and New Orleans and two more in Baltimore, Blessed Peter Clavier School and St. Benedict's School.[30] For over one hundred years, the dynamic work of this religious order has served Maryland and the nation from Louisiana to Michigan, as well as some areas of the Caribbean and Central America.

Particularly during the second decade of the nineteenth century, when the Negro colonization movement produced many heated discussions around the state, black Marylanders were attracted to Caribbean society. Blacks debated whether to depart the country and if so, where they should settle. William Watkins—Baltimore abolitionist, newspaper correspondent, founder of the Black Literary Society, a preeminent teacher, and preacher at the Sharp Street Methodist Episcopal Church—was an outspoken critic of black migration to the Caribbean. "If we desire the privileges of freemen," he declared, "we must seek them elsewhere; not in Hayti, on account of its proximity to this country, but in the burning sands of Africa."[31] These words did not discourage a number of energetic free blacks in Baltimore

from organizing emigrants to Haiti. The Maryland-Haytian Company was directed by some of the most articulate younger black Baltimoreans, including George R. McGill, a leading member of the Sharp Street African Methodist Episcopal congregation, who operated an oyster cellar and/or messenger service and seemed ready for any adventure that would advance his family. Hardworking and diligent, McGill had purchased his freedom in 1809 and his siblings' and father's some years later.[32] Haiti seemed to be an excellent alternative to life in Liberia, where life for Afro-American immigrants had become difficult. In December 1819 McGill therefore headed the first Maryland delegation to visit Haiti.

When the group arrived, it discovered the young republic to be still recovering from long revolutionary and civil wars, suffering from a poor economy, political instability, and military weakness. Capital required for rebuilding was virtually nonexistent. No country, including the United States, recognized Haiti as an independent nation. The republic was preoccupied with defending itself against the possibility of further European invasions. Henry Christophe, a faithful lieutenant of Toussaint L'Ouverture, had emerged as the leader in the northern sections of the republic and had spent the meager resources of the country on its defenses. McGill met with a few Haitian leaders who believed that the Marylanders' migrating to Haiti was a splendid idea. Implementation of the project proved more difficult than at first conceived, however. McGill fell stricken by a tropical fever and could not tour as much of the country as he had planned. Leaders of the tour discovered that the Haitian government could not fulfill its offer to finance the transportation of Maryland settlers. Yet McGill spoke in glowing terms of Marylanders migrating to the Republic of Haiti. "In this land of real freedom, blessed with equal rights and governed by equal laws," he declared, "the soul of the black man bursting the shackels imposed by prejudice, may walk abroad in its own majesty, and by the extent of its attainments may furnish additional evidence to sceptics that God of nature never designed that intellectual excellence should be confined to any particular complexion."[33]

Small groups of Maryland blacks settled in the Haitian Republic, some for longer periods than others. A leader in getting them there was Hezekiah Grice, Baltimore agent for the country's first black newspaper, the *Freedom Journal*—published in New York City by the Reverend Samuel Cornish and co-edited by Jamaica-born John B. Russwurm. Russwurm endorsed the basic principle of colonization and had become a popular spokesperson on the subject. He came to Baltimore as Grice's guest and was involved in an extensive dialogue with the city's black community (Russwurm's visit led to his marriage to one of McGill's daughters, and the couple eventually migrated to the newly founded African state of Liberia, where Russwurm published the colony's first newspaper and served as governor of one province called Maryland). Grice himself worked as a butcher in Ellicott City before becoming a successful ice dealer at 35 South Liberty Street in Baltimore. His initial objective was to assist other black businessmen in Baltimore and across the nation. Along with Watkins, Grice began the National Negro Convention Movement in 1830; he encouraged black businesses to trade overseas. His foreign relationships led him to Haiti, where he believed blacks could live in peace and harmony. In 1832, Grice and a small group of Marylanders left for Haiti in the hope they could make this black Caribbean state their new homeland.[34]

Samuel Ringgold Ward, born on Maryland's Eastern Shore in 1817 and educated in the North, also migrated to the Caribbean in the mid-nineteenth century. Ward had developed into one of the finest orators and preachers in the country and was referred to as the "Black Daniel Webster." Minister of white Congregationalist churches in New York and New England, Ward grew disillusioned with the worsening socio-political conditions black Americans faced during the 1850s. He left the United States and eventually settled in Jamaica, where he served as a Baptist minister until his death in 1866.[35]

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the most famous black Marylander in the nation, Frederick Douglass, served as U.S. ambassador to Haiti. The United States recognized Haiti's independence during the Civil War, long after most European countries had accepted Haiti into the family of nations, but the black republic did not enjoy full-fledged relations with most governments. The ambassadorial position was offered to Douglass in early 1889 because of his high repute within the Republican administration of President Benjamin Harrison. Douglass's awareness of the Caribbean began in his youth while working on the docks of Baltimore. Much later, in January 1870, President Grant had appointed him assistant secretary of the Santo Domingo Commission that investigated conditions in that Carib-

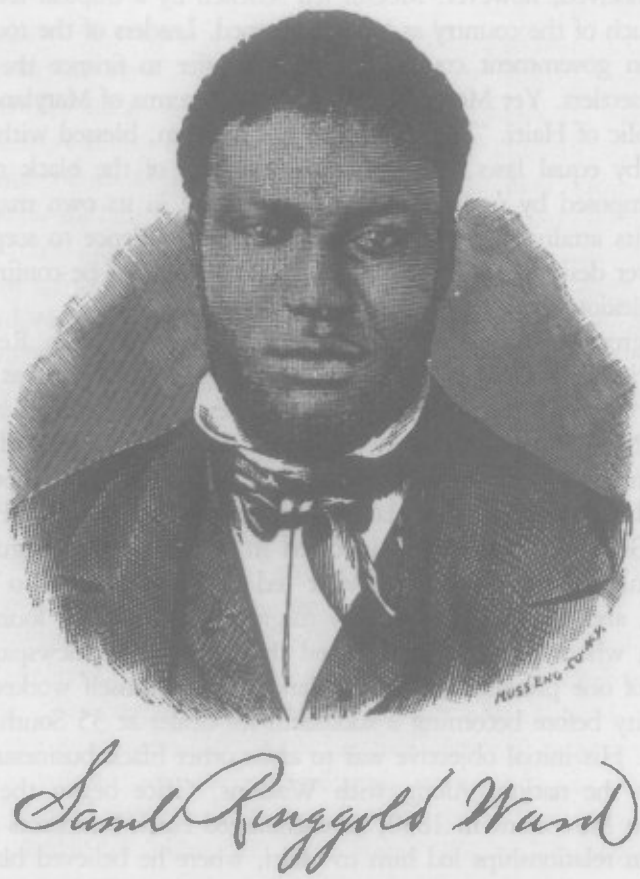

FIGURE 7. Samuel Ringgold Ward (1817–1866). (Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.)

FIGURE 8. Frederick Douglass with his wife and friends in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, when he served as U.S. Ambassador. (Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University.)

bean island. At that time Douglass seemed interested in U.S. annexation of both the Dominican Republic and Haiti. In the twenty years that followed, however, Douglass became convinced that the Haitian Republic, a world-wide symbol of black sovereignty, should be allowed to retain its independence. Soon after he was offered the Haitian ambassadorial position, Douglass wrote to William L. Burrington, a Washington friend, that duty called him to it. "My friends seem somewhat divided upon the question of my acceptance of the post," Douglass observed, "but reasons against it are not all equal to those in its favor."[36]

While in Haiti Douglass refused to undertake any mission that would seriously undermine the integrity of the Haitian state. When the Harrison administration pressed him to secure an immediate treaty granting control of the important Haitian port of Môle St. Nicolas to the United States as a naval station, Douglass objected to American procedures, conditions, and timing for obtaining the site. In the negotiating process he moved cautiously, for which he was bitterly ridiculed at home. Many regarded Douglass as too protective of the Haitian position, ineffective as American representative to the Haitian government. Douglass's position created consternation in the State Department. On the other hand, Douglass understood his important role as America's ambassador to a struggling government, and Hai-

tian leaders greatly admired his courage. Many of them privately had voiced their apprehensions about the proposed U.S.-Haitian treaty to Douglass.[37] His effort to forge a new American response created a special relationship between himself and the Haitian people. As a result he was held in such high esteem by the Haitian government that two years after he resigned his post, he was appointed commissioner to administer the Haitian exhibit at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

Interaction between Maryland and the Caribbean continued in the twentieth century. The outcome of the Spanish-American War created new opportunities for Baltimore businesses to become involved in the Caribbean market. Many Baltimore merchants invested in Cuban real estate as well as in the island's iron ore, copper, sugar, and asphalt industries. The expanded Sparrows Point steel plant at Baltimore imported large quantities of Cuban ore and exported manufactured steel to Cuba and other parts of the Caribbean. As one phase of an effort to increase business with the island, Bartlett-Hayward supplied parts for the sugar factories in Cuba. The Baltimore and Havana Steamship Company also fostered closer communication links between Maryland and the Caribbean. Those links survived major trading changes that followed two world wars. In 1958 Baltimore was still among the most active Caribbean-trade ports on the eastern seaboard. That year Baltimore shipped more than 61,000 long tons of merchandise to the Dominican Republic and Haiti alone. The collective tonnage of goods exported from Baltimore to Caribbean countries during 1959 ranked higher than that shipped to many countries in Europe, the Mideast, and the Far East. The total value of the goods shipped to Cuba that year exceeded $11 million.[38] Among exports to Caribbean countries were wheat and its by-products, dairy products, and a growing number of industrial goods and agricultural equipment supplies.

In the last twenty-five years the Caribbean immigrant population in Maryland has increased dramatically. The 1980 census showed that West Indians comprised ten percent of all foreign-born residents in the state, while the Caribbean Hispanic population more than doubled between the 1960 and 1980 censuses. These Caribbean immigrants, but the latest influx from the region, have formed some two-dozen cultural, civic, and self-help organizations in Maryland—many of them in the Washington-metropolitan counties of Prince George's and Montgomery, where the most recent arrivals live. One of their major objectives has been sharing the Caribbean heritage—cuisine, literature, art, and music—with their new neighbors. In doing so, they extend a tradition of more than 350 years' standing. Maryland and the Caribbean have shared in a common experience, economically, socially, and culturally. Maryland has grown richer by the exchange.

NOTES

1. This paper grew out of a project conducted between January and May 1984 in celebration of the state's triquicentennial and funded by the Maryland Humanities Council and Morgan State University. Mrs. Phebe Jacobson of the Maryland State Archives and

the late Dr. Ferdinand Chatard were helpful in preparation, but the author is entirely responsible for the views expressed.

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Cycles and Generations in Maryland History

GEORGE H. CALLCOTT

In 1924 the historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., propounded a theory of liberal and conservative waves, alternating every fifteen or twenty years, which seemed to him to run through American history from the Revolution to the 1920s. Then, very recently, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., updated the theory in an essay that gave its title, "Cycles of American History," to a book of Schlesinger essays. In the revision Schlesinger, Jr., argued that our history since the Revolution has been characterized by a cycle of public purpose (liberalism) and private interest (conservatism).[1]

Historians were more often put off than pleased by the theory. Critics disliked the Schlesingers' bias in favor of the liberal periods and the implication that American history spirals toward ever-greater democracy. Critics noted that the Schlesingers failed to explain convincingly the cycle that they claimed to have found, so that there remained a note of determinism that diminished other explanations of change. Most of all, the theory's connection with American national history seemed vaguely coincidental, without relevance to local history, to the colonial period, or to other countries.

Surprisingly almost no one has attempted to apply the theory to local history, where it would seem to have its strongest claim. Almost every community recalls its recent moods—the confidence of the 1920s, the desperate struggles of the 1930s and 1940s, the regained confidence of the 1950s, the wild intensity of the 1960s and early 1970s, and the regained conservatism of the 1980s. In Maryland, at least, the cycle is clearer than the Schlesingers found at the national level, not only for the 200-plus years since the Revolution, but also for the 350-plus years since founding. The alternating mood appears to be a grass-roots phenomenon, almost an engine of history, probably stronger in the counties than in the state, and perhaps strongest of all within institutions or even individuals. Examined up close, moreover, some explanations of the phenomenon begin to emerge, especially in the tension between self-conscious generations.

The cyclical swing is best described in a chart, like the one attached. In each case, the evolution is from a yearning for change to a yearning for stability.

The first cycle began in the English restlessness under James I—the ferment of the Guy Fawkes Plot, of rebellious parliaments, of Puritans fleeing to Holland and America, of risktaking investors like the Calverts plunging their fortunes into Virginia, Canada, or Maryland, and of settlers staking their lives on a new start. The

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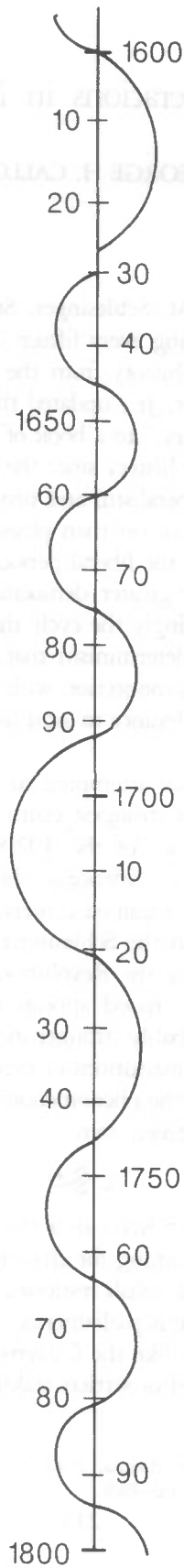
TABLE 1.



Yearning for Stability
Self-interest, Institutions

Settlement, 1632–45 (13 years)
- Charles I authoritarianism
- Charter
- General Assembly, Council, County government

Charles Calvert, 1660–76 (16)
- Governor co-opts Assembly
- Property franchise
- Slavery legalized
- Quakers, Presbyterians prosper

Royal Period, 1692–22 (30)
- Established church, 1692
- Capital to Annapolis, 1695
- King William's School, 1696
- Lawyers licensed, 1705
- Restoration of Calverts, 1715
- Catholics disfranchised, 1718

Gov. Horatio Sharpe, 1747–65 (18)
- Tobacco Inspection co-opts large planters
- Golden Age of plantations
- Rise of towns

Constitution, 1780–95 (15)
- American churches organize
- Washington, St. John's colleges
- Bank of Maryland
- Turnpike, canal companies
- U.S. Constitution
- China Trade begins

Yearning for Change
Idealism, Democracy

English Dissent, 1603–29 (26 years)
- Guy Fawkes
- Rebellious Parliaments
- Risk-taking investments
- Flight to Holland, America

Time of Troubles, 1645–60 (15)
- Ingle's Rebellion, 1645–7
- Toleration Act, 1649
- Gen. Ass. separates from Gov., 16
- Claiborne Invasion, 1652–7
- Pigmy Rebellion, 1660

Coode's Revolution, 1676–92 (16)
- Bacon's Revolt in Va., 1676
- Fendall Revolt, 1681
- Glorious Revolution, 1688
- Coode's Revolt and self-rule, 1689–1692

Rise of Country Party, 1722–47 (25)
- Fee Controversy and Paper Money
- Counties instruct delegates
- *Maryland Gazette* promotes public debate
- Natural Rights vs. Proprietary Rights

Revolution, 1765–1780 (15)
- Tax revolt, mobs, self-rule
- Church disestablishment
- Confiscation of estates
- Elected county officials
- Property tax replaces per capita
- Reapportionment for towns, west

departure from England was the most radical act that investor or emigrant ever undertook. There is a brief time lag between restoration of authority in England and settlement at St. Mary's, but as soon as the settlers arrived they were suddenly conservatives—cautious, self-seeking, clinging to authority, eagerly rebuilding the government and institutions they had left behind. An emigrant departing begins to define the mood of ferment; an immigrant arriving defines yearning for stability. Under the firm hand of the Calverts, the first years in Maryland were orderly. England, too, in the 1630s lapsed back into authoritarian calm under Charles I before a greater storm ahead.

Turmoil returned in the 1640s. England was rent by Puritans fighting Anglicans and the king, and Maryland (with a population of less than 1,000) was rent by Protestants against Catholics and the Calverts. The Maryland rebels obtained the Toleration Act of 1649, along with a two-house General Assembly and Cromwellian-like blue laws. But then the Calverts, like the English Stuarts, returned in 1660, co-opted the opposition, curtailed the powers of the legislature, restricted the franchise to property holders, and the colony enjoyed sixteen years of stability.

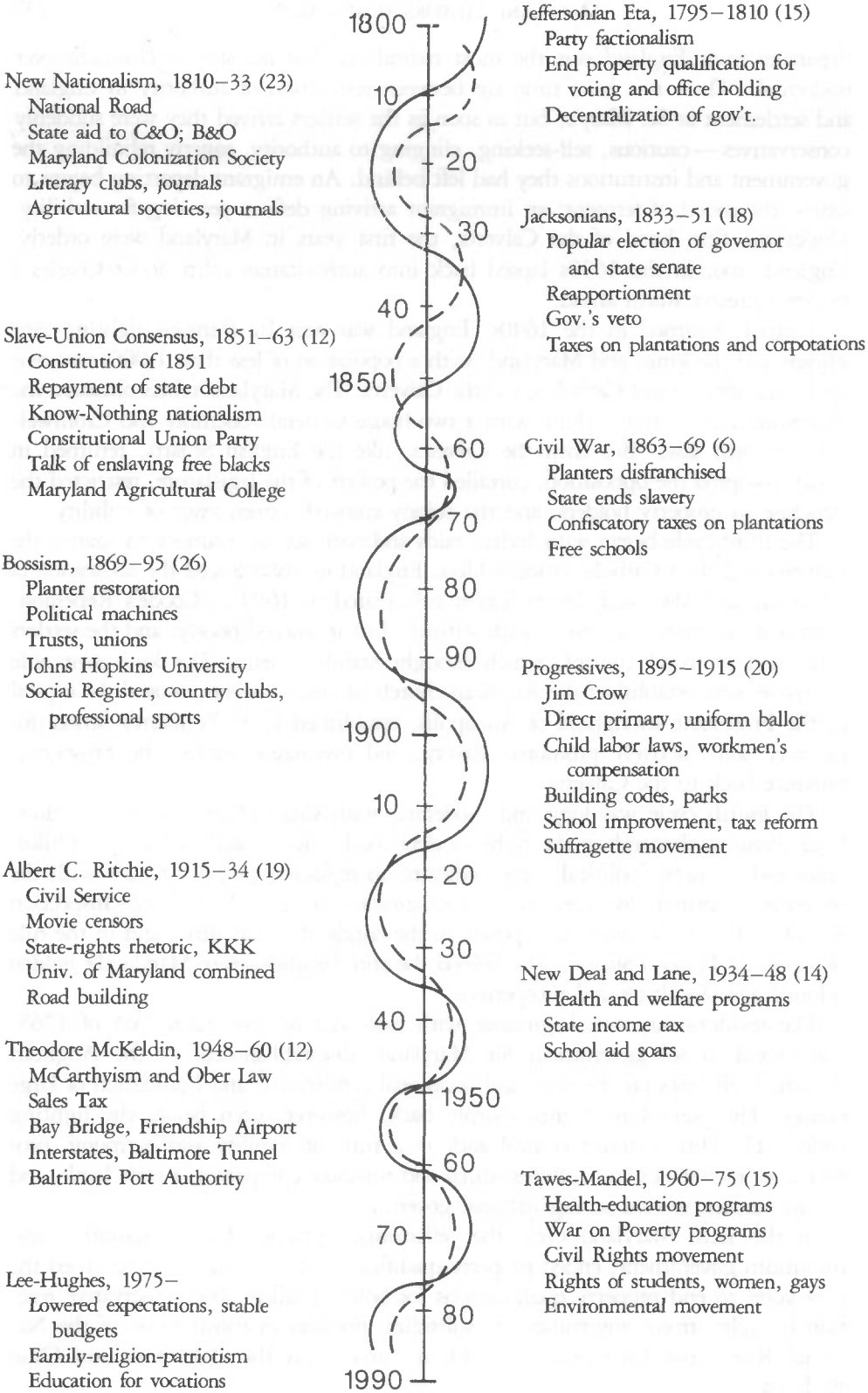
The third cycle began with Indian raids and with settler insurrection against the Calverts and their Catholic office-holders. England in 1688 forced the abdication of James II, and Maryland dissatisfaction culminated in 1689 in Coode's Rebellion. Maryland experimented briefly with self-rule, but it worked poorly, and the settlers petitioned for royal control, which brought stability again. The king sent able governors who established the Anglican church, licensed lawyers, moved the capital to the Protestant stronghold of Annapolis, established King William's School for planters' sons, actively promoted slavery, and eventually turned the prospering province back to the Calverts.

The fourth cycle was long and moderate, with small planters fighting against large planters, demanding the right to elect local officials, and maturing a philosophy and a nascent political party dedicated to replacing proprietary law with the concepts of natural law. Reaction to the agitation came in the Tobacco Inspection Act of 1747, which centralized power in the hands of the wealthy, and in the rule of Governor Horatio Sharpe, who helped the elite families create Maryland's golden colonial age of culture and prosperity.

The revolutionary era, beginning with riots against the Stamp Act of 1765, culminated in self-government for Maryland, disestablishment of the Anglican church, high taxes on the rich, and occasional confiscation and liquidation of large estates. The pendulum swung sharply back, however, even before the fighting ended. The elite regained control and, in a time of stability and harmony, promoted new churches and colleges, canal and turnpike companies, a state bank, and the movement toward strong national government.

In the sixth Maryland cycle the Jeffersonians promoted decentralization and minimum government, ended property qualifications for voting, and then used the new votes to end property qualifications for holding office. The conservative reaction brought strong government to subsidize investors in construction of the National Road, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

Jacksonian democracy came late but powerfully to Maryland, with legislative



———— Maryland history: the swing from Stability (average 18.5 years) to Ferment (average 17 years).

– – – – – – Schlesinger's line for U.S. history: the swing from Private Interest (average 17 years) to Public Purpose (average 15 years).

reapportionment, popular election of state senators, popular election of the governor, a strengthened executive to make him independent of the legislature, high taxes on plantations and corporations, and an abrupt end to state subsidy of canal and railroad companies. The reaction was extreme and confusing, bringing authoritarianism rather than stable harmony. What united most Marylanders was a desperate clinging to the past and the status quo. Know-Nothings opposed immigration, which seemed to represent change and egalitarianism; Constitutional Unionists clung to nationalism as a means of resisting change; and slaveowners joined the South as a means of protecting their property and ways of the past.

During the Civil War radicalism replaced reaction. Passionate reformers abolished slavery, disfranchised planters, established confiscatory taxes on farm property, and earmarked the proceeeds for an egalitarian bi-racial school system. The conservative movement began with the Maryland constitution of 1867, which restored the rural gentry, and was confirmed in the cities, which dismantled their newly created public service agencies. The gospel of individualism and wealth prevailed during the long Gilded Age, and taxes and services steadily declined.

The ninth cycle began in the 1890s, when paternalistic reformer-idealists promoted child labor laws, workmen's compensation, public health and welfare programs, public parks and building codes, school improvement, the enfranchisement of women, and progressive tax reform. Then in the 1920s the patrician Governor Albert C. Ritchie again curtailed taxes and services, actively promoted business, and emerged as a philosopher of states'-rights localism.

Maryland accepted the New Deal slowly with public works projects, expanded state health and welfare programs, expanded aid to schools and colleges, plus new state income and sales taxes to pay for it all. An extreme 1950s reaction came with an anti-communist crusade that was especially virulent in Maryland, much like the extreme reaction against change in the 1850s. Moderate Republican Governor Theodore R. McKeldin brought conservatives to a reluctant acceptance of the welfare state.

The most recent cycle began with the idealism of the 1960s, when the civil rights movement reached a crescendo and exploded into related crusades for peace and the rights of youth, women, and gays. Governor J. Millard Tawes, like Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, launched major new programs for social justice, legislative and constitutional reform, health-education-and-welfare expansion, urban renewal and environmental control. Then came the reaction—the quiet time of limited expectations and limited budgets of Governor Blair Lee III and Harry Hughes, and President Ronald Reagan's values of family, religion, and patriotism.[2]

Historians can easily argue about the particulars of each period. We can argue about the length of a number of them and in each period cite events that appear to be exceptions to the prevailing moods; we can show that exemplars of any one swing of the pendulum contained elements of the counter-swing. The point, however, is not so much the precision of the swing as its persistence. After all modifications of the pattern have been reconciled, the tendency toward alternating waves of ferment and respite seems to remain.

There is nothing deterministic in the cycle, for the periods of time vary considerably, obviously shaped by such events as wars, economic conditions, and dominant personalities. The Maryland periods of ferment range from six to twenty-six years, averaging seventeen; periods of stability range from ten to thirty years, averaging eighteen. There may be a tendency for especially intense periods—such as the stability at settlement or the idealism of Civil War—to burn itself out quickly and be succeeded by a longer period of reaction. There may be a slight tendency for the cycle to speed up over time, especially during the past half-century. Schlesinger's periods for 200 years of United States history average about one year less than the periods for the 350 years of Maryland history.

Cycles for Maryland and the rest of the country are similar except for variations in the beginning and ending of each one. In periods of ferment, Maryland seems to have anticipated the country three times, lagged three times, and once to have agreed entirely. In the swing toward stability the state seemed to anticipate the country three times, lag twice, and coincide twice.

Variation in periods robs the theory of predictive value, but still one is tempted to play the game. Using averages, one might expect a new wave of ferment to come to Maryland and America about 1993. It is hardest to define one's own period of time, however, because the definition lies largely in its contrast to what follows. We can speculate whether Governor William Donald Schaefer's authoritarianism and promotion of business and recreational facilities reflect a time of stability or whether his activism presages a time of ferment.

The best definition of what constitutes a period of ferment and a period of stability lies in the contrast between them. Times of ferment are, in every one of the eleven Maryland expressions, marked off from the time before and after by an eagerness for change, a prevailing sense of discontent, anger and rebellion—notably in Ingle's war, Fendall and Coode's rebellions, the Revolution, the Civil War, the civil rights movement, and anti-Vietnam War riots. In times of ferment, candidates call for sacrifice and reform, politics is dominated by class and economic interests, and people are filled with what Schlesinger calls public purpose. Inevitably comes reaction, causes grow stale, people seek respite.

Times of stability, by contrast, are marked by resistance to change, a yearning for order. People withdraw from causes and turn inward, seeking happiness in wealth and personal gain. Candidates call for realism and consolidation, and politics is dominated by ethnic, moral, and status interests. Times of stability are mostly times of relative happiness and tranquility. The notable exception to tranquility was the 1850s, when Know-Nothings, yearning for times past, became extremists, turned too violently on their opponents, and actually increased the disorder they were seeking to overcome. There were also overtones of counter-productive extremism in the otherwise stable 1810s, 1920s, and 1950s.

Times of ferment have usually, but not always, been marked by concern for democracy and egalitarianism. These have been the times when elected bodies gained power over appointed officials, when the franchise was extended, when reapportionment, progressive taxation, minority rights, labor laws, and welfare programs tended to grow. Exceptions to the democratic impulse lie in efforts of reformers to disfranchise opponents in the Revolution and Civil War, and in the

effort to disfranchise blacks in the Progressive period. People in power, of any persuasion, are usually tempted to exercise power against their opponents.

Times of stability on the other hand, promote institutions rather than democracy. Every one of the eleven Maryland expressions of stability seem to have been, more than the times before and after, periods of institution building—charters and constitutions, churches, colleges, political organizations, banks, corporations, turnpikes, canals, railroads, professional associations, social fraternities, athletic teams, and stadiums. Often the democratic initiatives in education, health, welfare, and civil rights have been best realized in the institutionalized bureaus of the periods of stability.

Ferment/idealism/democracy on the one hand, and stability/self-interest/institutions on the other hand are, of course, close to what we in the twentieth century have come to call liberalism and conservatism. There are many other corollaries of liberalism and conservatism, however, which are not readily apparent from a summary of like periods of Maryland history. In theory, times of ferment would be times of freethinking as opposed to evangelicalism, times of optimism as opposed to pessimism, times of lower class ascendency as opposed to upper class, times of cooperation as opposed to competition, times when literature is dominated by social concerns as opposed to introspective ones, and times when scholarship is dominated by theory as opposed to behaviorism. In every case there is probably a tendency in this direction, but in no case is it strong enough to establish empirically.

Other efforts to draw the theory too fine also falter. According to theory, poor and growing areas should be at the forefront of times of change, and areas of wealth and demographic decline should be at the forefront of the swing to stability. In fact, however, poor areas were often declining, and wealthy areas were often growing until the conflicting forces cancelled themselves.

Just as definitions of the alternating moods must be limited, so must the explanations. The apparent cycle has no meaning unless it can be explained, and misleading explanations are worse than none at all. First, there is little apparent correlation of cyclical moods with the so-called business cycle. Although depression underlay the New Deal, prosperity brought Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln to office, and the depressions of 1815 and 1873 did not alter the groundswell of support for the status quo. The major economic crises in Maryland (clearest in 1642, 1666, 1720, 1760, 1784, 1807, 1815, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893, 1907, 1929, 1937, 1957, and 1973) show no significant pattern and no relationship to changing public attitudes.

The business cycle is a vague concept that to different people means different things—including fluctuations in prices, wages, consumption, savings, production, money supply, and stock values. In the 1860s a Frenchman, Clement Juglar, claimed to have discovered a nine-year cycle of productivity, and in the 1920s a Russian, Nicholai Kontratieff, claimed to have found a fifty-year cycle of price fluctuations based on technological advances. The cycle theorists had great vogue after the crash of 1929, but nowadays most economists scoff at the Juglar and Kontratieff waves; except for noting a three-to-four year wave of lag from savings to interests rates to investment to productivity and back to savings, economists largely have abandoned the search for consistent rhythms.[3]

A second negative correlation lies with foreign affairs and wars. Although several rebellions, both world wars, and the Vietnam War all bore some relationship to idealistic ferment, the French and Indian War, the Mexican War, and the Korean War coincided with a search for stability and self-gain. Maryland's seventeenth-century war with Virginia, the War of 1812, and the Spanish-American War could be argued to fit on either side of the ledger. Each of these wars, moreover, came largely from outside Maryland and from outside the fluctuation in public mood.

In 1952 the historian Frank L. Klingberg suggested that American foreign affairs was characterized by twenty-year periods of isolation (1776–1798, 1824–1844, 1871–1891, 1918–1940), and twenty-six year periods of intervention (1798–1824, 1844–1871, 1891–1918, 1940–1968). Although the Klingberg and Schlesinger theories are sometimes cited together, there is no correlation between them, and each rather embarrasses the other. The Klingberg theory, moreover, does not seem to apply to the colonial era, is doubtful for the period since 1968, and carries no explanation whatever. It appears hardly relevant to Maryland's alternating moods.[4]

A third negative correlation lies in the fortunes of political parties. Parties hardly existed before the Revolution, and in Maryland as elsewhere the spokesmen of revolutionary idealism in the 1770s were usually the spokesmen for constitutionalism in the 1780s. In the early nineteenth century Jeffersonians and Jacksonians tended to be spokesmen for democracy, and Federalists and Whigs tended to be spokesmen for institutions. Regional differences, however, were stronger than party differences, and former Whigs led the movement for change and democracy during the Civil War. In the twentieth century Democrats often claimed to be the party of change, except that Democratic governors Albert C. Ritchie and Herbert R. O'Conor were spokesmen for stability. Republicans often claimed to be the party of stability, except that Republican governors Harry W. Nice and Spiro T. Agnew were elected as reformers. The cycle appears stronger than both political ideology and party allegiances.

The prevailing mood rather than party membership shaped the personal inclination of able leaders, and it broke the ones who could not adjust. In recent decades Governors Tawes and Agnew were mossbacks in their nature and philosophy, but they succeeded in Maryland by acting like reformers. Governors McKeldin and Hughes were closet idealists who succeeded in satisfying a longing for stability. Governor Marvin Mandel was the best politician of all, switching from reformer to stabilizer as the public mood changed during mid-term. Presidents Richard Nixon and Jimmy Carter were less agile, for they could not overcome their natural inclinations, and they were destroyed when the times moved against them.

Finally, as explanations of cycles to be dismissed, are the biological, astronomical, and climatological forces outside history. The reputable *Journal of Interdisciplinary Cycle Research,* dominated by hard scientists, mostly shuns histoty. Biologists are concerned with short-term rhythms such as sleep, hormone release, monthly moods, and with longer term cycles of cell regeneration and reproduction. Many plants and animals experience cycles of population vigor, such as the seventeen-year cicada, but no one has found meaningful cycles of human population change.[5]

Astronomers have confirmed a fairly regular rhythm of sunspots that occurs

when the magnetic poles of the sun shift approximately every eleven years, with possible effects on the earth's atmosphere and climate but without discernible effects on human history. Climatologists have not established changes in anything less than a probable 400-year cycle. Other scientists have claimed to find a seventeen-year cycle or a thirty-four year cycle in tree rings and sedimentation deposits, and one in duration resembles the apparent historical cycle. But the historical and natural cycles do not correlate, and we are probably justified in dismissing their similarity as coincidental.[6]

If external forces like depressions, wars, personalities, and natural phenomena do not very well explain the cycle, then the explanation would seem to lie internally, in the operation of society itself. Historians are far more comfortable with such an explanation, for in fact they have long explained the past largely in terms of a tension between reasonable alternatives. One way of thinking gains ascendancy, say with the New Deal or the Eisenhower consensus of the 1950s or the anger of the 1960s, and after awhile this way of thinking grows stale and provokes reaction.

Each individual in differing degree feels the impulse to innovate and to consolidate, and such impulses find outlet alternatively from day to day or from one period of one's life to another. The collective society would seem to express itself similarly. We collectively grow dissatisfied with one way of thinking and seek the alternative. "All things have their season," says the prophet, "a time to destroy and a time to build. . . ." A time for heroism and a time for respite say the Schlesingers. The nature of man and of society is to grow dissatisfied with whatever we obtain.

An important contemporary economist, Albert O. Hirschman of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University, puts the argument in economic terms, suggesting that micro impulses not only reflect but create the macro impulse, that the aspirations of individuals agglomerate and find expression in the body politic. Individuals and societies, he argues, go through periods of searching for happiness through material consumption, and when this indulgence inevitably dissatisfies, individuals and societies turn for fulfillment to communality and social reform until this experience also proves disappointing, and the cycle repeats itself. Hirschman suggests, and Maryland seems to confirm, that political rhetoric reveals this oscillation over time.[7]

Historians long expressed this dialectic in the old paradigm of Jeffersonianism versus Hamiltonianism, cycles alternating to create ever-greater democracy and ever-stronger institutions. Consensus historians deny the upward spiral and redefine the terms, but actually they, too, have usually accepted a dualism in their thinking. Daniel Boorstin writes of the tension between idealism and pragmatism. Henry Nash Smith juxtaposes search for myth and search for reality, Louis Hartz writes of democracy and capitalism, Gordon Wood of democracy and nationalism, and J. G. A. Pocock of liberty and virtue. The neo-Marxists, of course, live by a dialectic. The American two-party system reinforces a dualism of reasonable alternatives; we casually call each other liberals or conservatives, and at least individually we know what we mean.

Once we accept some tendency toward oscillation in human thinking, however, we still must explain the duration of dominant attitudes, the approximate regularity of the shift in moods, and the similarity of alternate periods. We should be able to explain the process by which one expression exhausts itself and gives rise to another.

Here philosophers have offered a theoretical explanation that mostly has escaped notice, much less testing, by historians. This is the concept of generations. Philosophers have suggested that decisive events such as war or depression serve to shape the thinking of an entire age group. That age group, or generation, tends to revolt against its elders, blames them for the errors of the past, and sets out to establish, within the existing framework of debate, an alternative approach to life and government. The philosophical parentage for the notion is distinguished. Auguste Comte, John Stuart Mill, Wilheim Dilthey, Karl Mannehim and Ortega y Gasset have urged that a generational concept be applied to history. The repetition of this theory among philosophers makes its neglect among historians the more remarkable.[8]

Philosophers usually intend for the generational concept to be taken quite literally: a generation lasts about thirty to thirty-five years, they note, the average age between parents and children; and its half-life is seventeen years, almost exactly the average of the rhythm that seems to flow through American and Maryland history. According to Ortega y Gasset, who has pursued the idea most doggedly, people tend to fall into age groups—ages one to seventeen without political ideas; ages seventeen to thirty-four of forming political consciousness; ages thirty-four to fifty-one of career development; ages fifty-one to sixty-eight of political dominance. Afterward people supposedly yield to their successors.[9]

The obvious objection is that people are born every day, so there can be no starting place to differentiate one generation from another. Advocates of the generational concept, however, place emphasis on the formative events that create a particular climate of thinking for people whose age of formative political consciousness clusters around major events. Age, says Ortega, is not a date, but a zone of dates.

Take, for example, the people born in the period from 1915 to 1934, and at an average age of ten, mostly too young to have political ideas. From 1934 to 1948 this group, then at an average age of seventeen, the age of adolescent rebellion, formed its political consciousness—reacting against the complacency of its parents who received blame for the shock of Depression, war, and atomic bombs. Here was a cluster of similarly frightening formative events, unlike those that would have dominated if the period were pushed five years forward or back. From around 1948 to 1962 these same people, clustering in their 30s, started careers, and their dissatisfaction with their parents' generation was further fueled by the dominance of the prevailing Eisenhower complacency which was imposed by their bosses in the generation ahead of them. From 1962 to 1976, however, this 1915–1934 generation, now in its 50s, comes into its own. Now Lyndon Johnson liberals, they are inspired by the aged New Dealers ahead of them and gain passion from the teen-age radicals behind them. Finally, by the mid-1970s, the Lyndon Johnson idealists have either achieved their goals or acknowledged failure. They have grown tired,

TABLE 2.
The 1915–1934 "Generation"

Period	Duration	Formative Events which tend to dominate period	Age of 1915–1934 Generation	Average Age	Phase of life for 1915–1934 Generation
1915–1934	19	War patriotism, 1920s boom	0–19	10	Youth
1934–1948	14	Depression, war, A-Bomb	1–33	17	Formative events shape thinking of 1915–1934 generation
1948–1960	12	Eisenhower prosperity	16–47	32	Career Formation
1960–1975	15	Civil Rights, Vietnam	30–61	46	In Power
1975–1992 (?)	15 (?)	Ronald Reagan	44–77	61	Yielding to next generation

become frightened by the young radicals, and half-willingly acceded to the rising conservative tide of the next political generation.

Put more simply, America in the 1960s was governed mainly by people who were born in the 1910s and 1920s and came into their political consciousness in the 1930s and 1940s. Put more currently, America in the 1980s is governed mainly by people, born in the 1930s, who came into political awareness in the 1950s. We make due exception for the people of unusual age, like Ronald Reagan, who operate in a period of time which is one or two steps beyond the normal one. A conservative period like the 1980s acclaims a leader of any age if that leader reflects its way of thinking, and it tends to reject a person of any age who is out of phase.

The key to the scheme lies in formative events—the complacency of the 1920s, the Depression, war, and atomic bombs of the 1930s and early 1940s, the affluence and consensus of the 1950s, the cacophony over civil rights and Vietnam in the 1960s, and the popularity of Ronald Reagan in the 1980s. In retrospect we can fairly easily identify the formative events, back to the English turmoil under James I, which in a given period of time tended to dominate other events and to shape a mood distinct from the mood that came before or after.

The generational theory suggests that students of college age tend to share certain attitudes that conform to those of the generation in power, and in fact there appears to be considerable confirmation for the notion. Colleges, more than any other institution, seem to provide an exaggerated expression of their times. Varying student moods are readily apparent from at least a century of college yearbooks, and the symbolism that college students have provided for their age has grown as the colleges themselves have grown in importance—the jazz and goldfish swallowing of the 1920s, the Lincoln Brigades of the Depression, the crew-cut conformity in the 1950s, the hippies and anger of the 1960s, the career orientation of the 1980s.[10]

The generational concept has gained the attention of political scientists and

pollsters who have tried, somewhat inconclusively, to demonstrate a set of generational attitudes which are held consistently by people as they grow older. Although several studies looking for such patterns have tended to find them, the findings have been subject to criticism. Any age cohort changes its composition over time —with an increasing number of women, for example, and fewer blacks. There is probably a natural tendency for people to grow more conservative with age, to reflect the opinions of their superiors as they rise in careers, and to adopt the opinion of their successors as they retire. Polling, in any case, has never been comparable over long periods of time.[11]

Sociologists, meanwhile, especially after the student uprisings of the 1960s, rushed in to explain youth culture and generation gaps. Students, often with a homogeneous heritage, stood at the forefront of many ninteenth-century European revolutions. A recent study argues that the Hitler youth, from a fatherless generation, yearned for authority. The student radicals of the 1960s have been variously described as offspring of the 1930s radicals but also as an Oedipal rejection of their parents grey-flannel conformity.[12]

A much less examined measure of the cyclical swing may lie in voting participation. At least for Maryland, there appears to be a consistent pattern of surging participation at the beginning of most swings of the pendulum and often a decline thereafter. Comparable statistics exist only for presidential elections, where the surge is evident in twelve of the fourteen swings from 1789 to 1988, with an average rise in these elections of 12.6% over the previous election. The two exceptions, moreover, in 1852 and 1864, have clear explanations in the disintegration of Maryland parties after 1851 and widespread disfranchisement in 1864. Voting turnout is almost identical in times of ferment and times of stability.[13]

The surest test of the cyclical-generational tendency lies in the degree to which such a pattern exists in different communities. If it does exist as a pattern in different states, towns, and institutions—and if it can be shown to be independently generated in these localities rather than a copy of what is occurring elsewhere—then we would seem to have another useful tool for explaining the past.

This brings us back to our starting point. Maryland seems to confirm the theory of alternating moods, and many communities within the state do as well. About the same time Theodore Roosevelt was challenging the Old Guard within the Republican party, Young Turks were challenging the older generation in the town councils of Cumberland and Salisbury and in the garden clubs of Chevy Chase and Roland Park. The program of the newly elected officials bore some resemblance to events in the nation. Local history has long been mobilized to provide a microcosmic insight into major events. Perhaps it can also be mobilized toward an understanding of the process of change itself.

We shall, of course, never discover more than a tendency, but little that we have ever found in history is more than that. We have long accepted class interests, ethnic consciousness, and sectionalism as influences on behavior. We might begin to consider the concept of formative events, generational spans, and alternating moods as still other explanations of historical change. We may begin to find that the times affect events as well as the other way around.

Notes

1. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., "Tides of American Politics," *Yale Review,* 29 (1939): 217–30, was the first printed form of the 1924 address; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Cycles of American History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986), pp. 23–48, is the most recent.

2. This is the main theme (discerned, alas, by few reviewers) of my *Maryland and America, 1940–1980* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).

3. Arthur F. Burns, "Business Cycles," in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (18 vols.; New York: Macmillan Co. and The Free Press, 1968), 3:226–49; Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Business Cycles: A Theoretical, Historical, and Statistical Analysis of the Capitalist Process* (2 vols.; New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1939); W. Arthur Lewis, *Growth and Fluctuations, 1870–1913* (London, Boston: G. Allen & Unwin, 1978); Robert J. Gordon, ed., *The American Business Cycle: Continuity and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

4. Frank L. Klingberg, "Historical Alternation of Moods in American Foreign Policy," *World Politics,* 4 (1952): 239–73. See also Klingberg, *Cyclical Trends in American Foreign Policy Moods* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983).

5. Edward S. Ayensu and Philip Whitfield, *Rhythms of Life* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1982); Ritchie R. Ward, *The Living Clocks* (New York: New American Library, 1971).

6. D. J. Schrove, "Solar Cycles and Terrestrial Oscillations," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Cycle Research,* 3 (1972): 409–411; Ayensu and Whitfield, *Rhythms of Life,* pp. 143–51; E. R. Dewey, "Cycles Synchromies," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Cycle Research,* 2 (1971): 331–62; E. R. Dewey and J. E. Vaux, "The 17 ½ Year Cycle in Lake Saki Varves, 2295 B.C. to 1984 A.D.," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Cycle Research,* 3 (1972): 329–44.

7. Albert O. Hirschman, *Shifting Involvements: Private Interest and Public Action* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982). Studies of political culture and rhetoric over short periods of time have been sophisticated and tend to support the theory, while studies over longer periods have been shallow: Jean H. Baker, *Politics of Continuity: Maryland Political Parties from 1858 to 1870* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Ronald P. Formissano, *Transformation of Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790s–1840s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Samuel P. Huntington, *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1981), pp. 147–49, and passim.

8. Alan B. Spitzer, "The Historical Problem of Generations," *American Historical Review,* 78 (1973): 1353–85; Karl Mannehim, "The Problem of Generations," in Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge,* trans. Paul Kecskemeti (London: Rutledge & K. Paul, 1952 [1927]), pp. 276–320; Ortega y Gasset, *Man and Crisis,* trans. by Mildred Adams (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1958 [1933]), pp. 30–84. Julian Marias, a disciple of Ortega and a lifelong publicist of the idea, has traced the geneaology of the theory in Marias and Marvin Rintala, "Generations," in Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* 6:88–96, and Marias *Generations: A Historical Method,* trans. by Harold C. Raley (University: University of Alabama Press, 1970 [1967]).

9. Ortega y Gasset, *Man and Crisis,* pp. 56–66; Marias, *Generations,* passim.

10. Seymour Martin Lipset and Everett Carl Ladd, Jr., "College Generations—from the 1930s to the 1960s," *Public Interest,* 25 (1971): 99–113.

11. Neal E. Cutler, *The Alternative Effects of Generations and Aging upon Political Behavior*

(Oak Ridge, Tenn.: Oak Ridge National Laboratories, 1968); William R. Klecka, "Applying Analysis," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 35 (1971): 358–73).

12. Peter Lowenberg, "The Psychohistorical Origins of the Nazi Youth Cohort," *American Historical Review,* 76 (1971): 1457–1502; Lewis S. Feuer, *Conflict of Generations: The Character and Significance of Student Movements* (New York: Basic Books, 1969); Anthony Esler, *Bombs, Beards and Barricades: 150 Years of Youth in Revolt* (New York: Stein and Day, 1971); Herbert Butterfield, *The Discontinuity Between Generations in History* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

13. John T. Willis, *Presidential Elections in Maryland* (Mt. Airy, Md.: Lomond Publications, 1984), 247–248, provides the following statistics. Underlined dates are what I judge to be times of swing from one temper to another:

Election	Percent Turnout
1789	17.2
1792	2.3
1796	30.4
1800	39.0
1804	19.8
1808	47.8
1812	55.7
1816	19.6
1820	9.4
1824	53.7
1828	70.3
1832	55.7
1836	67.6
1840	84.5
1844	81.4
1848	76.0

Election	Percent Turnout
1852	72.8
1856	80.0
1860	81.1
1864	57.7
1868	72.6
1872	75.0
1876	82.7
1880	79.8
1884	79.9
1888	84.8
1892	79.9
1896	87.3
1990	85.9
1904	96.6
1908	70.9
1912	64.8

Election	Percent Turnout
1916	68.1
1920	52.3
1924	41.0
1928	56.8
1932	51.2
1936	58.1
1940	57.2
1944	46.7
1948	41.7
1952	57.5
1956	54.6
1960	58.3
1964	54.7
1968	55.2
1972	49.8
1976	49.3
1980	50.0
1984	51.2
1988	

Research Notes & Maryland Miscellany

Gravestone Procurement in St. Mary's County, 1634–1820

NORMAN VARDNEY MACKIE III

Despite genealogical, religious, aesthetic, and symbolic studies of colonial gravestones, most scholars have devoted little attention to the socio-economic data they contain. Recent research in St. Mary's County, Maryland, demonstrates the value of this information for historians, folklorists, historical archaeologists, and cultural geographers. Using field and documentary evidence, this essay examines raw materials, style, and the distribution of stones through time as a means of tracing socio-economic and trade patterns.

As no such studies had yet been undertaken in Maryland, my first goal was to observe and record funerary monuments in the field. Achieving it, however, proved difficult because many memorials to the dead have disappeared through the combined forces of natural attrition and human callousness. At The Plains private burying ground, for instance, I witnessed gravestones that vandals had broken and gathered into piles. Supportive stanchions had been broken and the bricks strewn about. Oral tradition revealed the fates of countless other monuments in the county. Gravestones dammed streams and supported small bridges; they became doorsteps and foundation stones. Still others succumbed to economic development. A rural gentleman remembered destroying tombstones on his father's property in the late 1940s. As he thought back to the event he proclaimed, "I don't remember whether I was twelve or thirteen . . . but I do know that I was big enough to swing a sledgehammer." Asked why this was done, the man replied that the gravestones impeded the plow, and that "no one thought they'd be of any value to anyone." I later learned that the demolished stones were among the earliest in Maryland, dating to the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Still other stones throughout the county were paved over, destroyed by farming, or laid flat to facilitate landscaping.

Despite woeful insensitivity, some early gravestones remained. I established a data base for this study from memorials located in eight churchyards and five private burying grounds.[1] Such a sample emerged for reasons of time and manageability, yet my findings seemed to form a pattern that holds for the entire county. Observation of other county cemeteries supports this contention. The period of

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analysis, 1634–1820, breaks down into three general phases: early (1634–1725), middle (1725–1785), and late (1785–1820).

The early phase embraced a period of want. Though in New England a wealth of raw material led to the relatively quick appearance of an indigenous stonecarving tradition,[2] a dearth of local stone plagued the Chesapeake throughout its colonial history. Consequently, the period 1634–1725 saw the importation of gravestones from the only market source available at the time, England. British records of imports and exports to Virginia and Maryland[3] reveal that those colonies received fifteen tombstones during the years 1697–1729, ranging in price from two to nineteen pounds sterling. Further study indicates without question that the seventeenth-century Chesapeake depended on England for all forms of stone—including quern stones, dog stone, brimstone, paving stone, fire stone, mill stones, grindlestones, and hearth stones.

Wills quite often contained evidence of gravestone origin, though, unfortunately, none survived for early St. Mary's County. Several examples from Tidewater Virginia, however, testify to the environmental situation that surely plagued all areas of the Chesapeake. The 1697 will of William Sherwood, for example, left no doubt of the reliance on English stone: "and I Desire that my good friend Jeffry Jeffrys of London Esqr Do Send a Grave Stone to be laid upon my grave."[4] In the same year, Sarah Yardley's will (as recounted in a letter) requested that "her best diamond necklace and Iuell should be sent to england to purchase six diamond rings and two blacke tombstones."[5]

No early-phase monuments are found in St. Mary's County, no doubt partly due to the dearth of local stone. Nonetheless, we may still learn something of funerary monuments of that time. Helen W. Ridgely, a noted antiquarian and gravestone scholar, observed the presence of seven early-phase markers in St. Mary's County in 1908.[6] Information for two—the Susannah Maria Lowe and Francis Sourton stones—identifies them as members of the "ledger" type, a stylistic hallmark of the British funerary tradition (figure 1). As for the remaining five early-phase stones, Ridgely does not provide enough for formal identification. It is possible to hypothesize what forms these monuments may have taken. The most important attributes to be studied in this form of sleuthing are the terms, titles, and honorifics that either precede or follow the names appearing on the stones. Thus, Ridgely records the early-phase stones of "James Truman, Gent." (d. 1672), "Thomas Truman, Esqr." (d. 1685), "Nathaniel Truman, Gent." (d. 1678), "Mary, wife and Relict of Thomas Truman, Esqr." (d. 1686), and "Christopher Rousby, Esquire" (d. 1684). All these individuals, either through birth or marriage, are specified by their titles as members of armorial families and thus were of gentle status. How does this aid in determining the types of tombstones that most likely marked their graves? The answer lies again in findings from Tidewater Virginia. In a recent examination of the relationship between monument type and social status in that area, I discovered that during the period 1607–1725, ledgers marked about half of adult armorial graves, chest-tombs (figure 2) marked the same proportion, church burials comprised 7 percent, and modest headstones marked less than 3 percent of adult armorial graves.[7] Taking into consideration the similar social organization of Virginia and Maryland, one may assume that Ridgely's remaining early-phase markers took

FIGURE 1. Ledger. (Photo by the author, 1983.)

the form of either ledgers or chest-tombs—both indicative of high social status in post-Reformation England and Virginia. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that only those of wealth and social prestige appear to have weathered the costs of importation from England during the early phase.

The middle phase of gravestone procurement in St. Mary's demonstrated a continuing dependence upon Great Britain,[8] but also the appearance of stone products from Philadelphia. Though little more than a village at its founding in 1681, Philadelphia boasted 119 craftsmen and artisans by 1690, 34 of whom plied their trade in the building profession.[9] Since gravestone cutting served as an ancillary trade to stone masonry, bricklaying and, in short, the general trade of building, it seems conceivable that the earliest tomb-makers worked in this profession. There certainly was not a lack of stone; the relatively early development of an indigenous building tradition in Philadelphia rested on the sizable marble and limestone deposits located in nearby Montgomery and Chester counties. In fact, Myers presents strong evidence for the quarrying of marble and limestone in these areas as early as the 1680s.[10]

The Philadelphia stonecutter became a much more visible artisan as the middle phase progressed. The earliest newspaper advertisement concerning this rare breed of craftsman appeared in the *American Weekly Mercury* for 2 November 1727:

STONE CUTTER.—Run away from Anthony Wilkinson of Philadelphia, Carver,

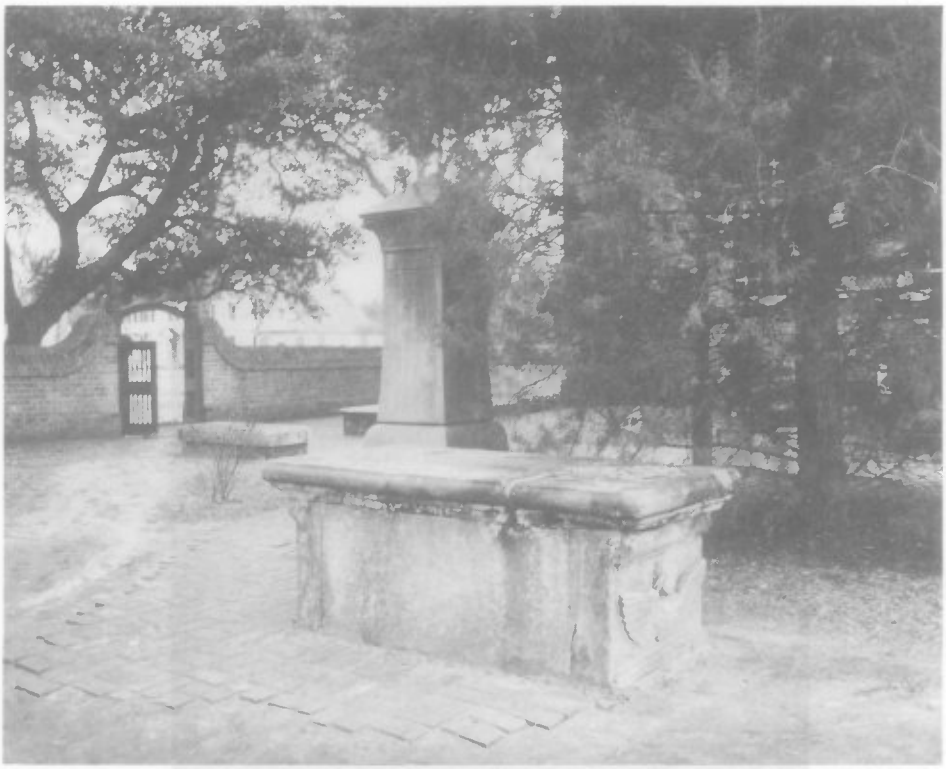

FIGURE 2. Chest-tomb. (Photo: Elizabeth A. Crowell, 1978.)

> November 1st, a Servant man, named Richard Peckford a Stone cutter by trade, he is tall raw Bone fellow and stoops with his neck; Had on a Felt Hat edged round the brim, a light blue thick woolin Cap and a light white Kearsey coat full trim'd a dark pair of Leather Breeches with brass buttons. Whoever takes up and secures said servant and gives notice thereof to his said Master, shall have Forty shillings as a reward and all other reasonable charges paid by me, Anthony Wilkinson.[11]

By the end of the middle phase, gravestone cutters hawked their wares regularly in local newspapers. Although they obtained the bulk of their business from Philadelphians or rural folk peripheral to the city, they also produced gravestones for individual living at great distances. Cutters Traquair and Miller, for instance, informed their clientele in 1778 that "Orders from the country were punctually answered"[12] and Brown and Knox advertised "Orders from the country or elsewhere punctually answered."[13] Residents of Cape May County, New Jersey relied heavily upon Philadelphia stonecutters for gravestones at this time.[14]

If the demand for Philadelphia gravestones existed in St. Mary's County during the middle phase, the means of transportation could not have been better. As a result of its ambitious merchants, large number of shopkeepers, and skilled craftsmen, Philadelphia early became a trade center with commercial connections in all of the sister colonies, not excepting Maryland.[15] Philadelphia appears also to have been a source of the decorative goods once made exclusively in England. As Garrett has written of the Maryland-Philadelphia connection, "Before Baltimore

FIGURE 3. Detail of ledger showing cherub motif. (Photo by the author, 1983.)

became a cultural center in her own right, Philadelphia was the logical place to secure the services of a silversmith, clockmaker, or portrait painter."[16] I believe that this demand included the much-needed services of the stonecutter as well.

There is evidence that this trade did develop. The Judith Townley Reeder stone —located in the private burying ground at Ellenborough—offers two major clues of its place of origin. First, it is shaped of marble with an extraordinarily high limestone content. At the time of the stone's carving in 1771, the quarrying of such material occurred only in Chester and Montgomery counties. Second, an intricately carved winged cherub motif (figure 3) decorates each corner of the ledger. Examples of this style occurred in Philadelphia churchyards and are known to have been carved by stonecutters in that city.[17] Perhaps the most convincing evidence for

FIGURE 4. Table-tomb. (Photo by the author, 1983.)

the importation of gravestones from Philadelphia appeared in the codicil to the will of Captain Gilbert Ireland, written 17 January 1755:

> I desire that after my death I may be buried in Chaptico Churchyard at the distance of about three feet from the foot of my late good friend Mr. Wilson and that a cheap black marble stone may be sent for to Philadelphia with the proper inscription to be put over the grave or brickwork.[18]

Although executors carried out Ireland's wishes, his stone disappeared in about 1860.[19]

Only three tombstones dating to the middle phase survive in St. Mary's County. They include the previously mentioned Judith Townley Reeder stone (1771), the William Hebb stone (1758) currently residing at Porto Bello, and the Jane Forbes stone (1758) located at The Plains. The Reeder and Forbes stones are ledgers, while the Hebb stone is a "table tomb" consisting of a massive ledger positioned atop six carved stone legs (figure 4). Only members of the English gentry chose the table tomb; William Hebb, himself of armorial bearings, thus rightfully claimed such a monument at his death in 1758. Carved of a fine pink sandstone unknown in this country at that time, this memorial most probably was the work of English artisans. Deterrents to gravestone procurement during both the early and middle phases included the process of importation itself. When craft products have to be imported from far-away cities rather than procured from local producers, cost

grows. In transactions with England and Philadelphia, St. Mary's County residents paid not only for the finished stone, but for shipment. English tombstones ranged in price from four to eighteen pounds, a considerable expense. In addition, Maryland's peculiar socio-economic structure appears to have played a significant role in gravestone procurement. A small group of middling merchant-planters dominated the local economy, many of whom traced their success to a cycle of growing population, land selling and leasing. Non-planting activities such as merchandising, milling, land distribution, and money lending also accounted for the affluence of this wealthier class. Wealthy merchant-planters, however, comprised only a small fraction of the population, and most residents of the period did not even know that a "Golden Age" existed. Small producers whose leased or bought land barely extended beyond the dimensions of a small farm formed the bulk of Chesapeake society.[20] The land-and-labor-intensive tobacco economy forced them to eke out an existence that provided them only with the bare necessities of life, not to mention an inability to afford imported gravestones. In addition to the dearth of local raw materials, then, the economic situation in early Maryland also explains the sparsity of early- and middle-phase gravemarkers and why those precious few mark only the graves of the middling-planter gentry.

What types of memorials marked the graves of less fortunate? John Weever described the traditional precedent in 1631:

> It was the ufe and custome in reverend antiquitie to interre persons of the rufticke or plebeian sort in Christian buriall without any further remembrance of them either by tombe, graveftone or epitaph.[21]

Weever's description suggests the interment of people in unmarked graves, or, as others have suggested, beneath wooden grave rails, the latter of which saw traditional use in England as gravemarkers.[22] Physical evidence of wooden markers in the colonies does not abound, yet three intact examples, all in the English style, have been found. These markers, two from Charleston and one from rural South Carolina, all date to the eighteenth century.[23] In St. Mary's County, documentary evidence supports the use of wooden markers during the early and middle phases. Describing the bluff of land where the present Trinity Church stands in St. Mary's City, Edward Bruce wrote in 1871 that:

> What was formerly the state-house yard has been for a century and a half a cemetery . . . . Among these errant monuments one was pointed out to me with the inscription "I. C. 1802" as that of a near relative of one of our most honored and venerable statesmen. It was a plain block of cedar. Of the same durable wood was the oldest monument I could find. It was in place, but the name was obliterated: "1717 aged," was its satiric story.[24]

Clearly, the custom of burying individuals "without any further remembrance of them either by tombe, graveftone or epitaph," and the use of wooden markers explains the present appearance of many early and middle phase churchyards throughout St. Mary's County. Most of these burying grounds contain wide stretches of land bereft of tombstones, although church records prove the presence of many early deceased. Some gravestones fell to the ravages of time, weather, and human callousness; but unmarked graves and wooden markers pointed to an eco-

nomic situation that determined the style as well as the presence or absence of gravemarkers during the period 1634–1785.

The late phase reflected drastic changes in gravestone style and distribution. Headstones became the prevalent style of markers, appearing in great numbers throughout the private burying grounds and churchyards of St. Mary's. The forty-five headstones in my sample included forty of the Neoclassical "urn-shaped" stones (figure 5) and six transitional substyles of that mode. The Neoclassical style and its

FIGURE 5. Urn-shaped headstone. (Photo by the author, 1983.)

variants prevailed throughout the American decorative arts during the period 1785–1820.[25] In contrast to earlier years, only seven monuments (13 percent of the late-phase sample) traditionally indicative of high social status (i.e., ledgers, chest-tombs, table-tombs) were erected during the late phase.

The appearance of stonecarvers in Baltimore and Washington brought easier and cheaper gravestone procurement during the late phase. A shift from tobacco to grain assured Baltimore's commercial growth during the last decade of the eighteenth century and population rise from 13,503 to 31,518.[26] Baltimore stonecutters—John M'Glathery, James Reid, and Robert Steuart among them—advertised, often at length, in local newspapers.

> M'GLATHERY, JOHN; REID, JAMES.–Notice is hereby most respectfully given to the Public, that the Subscribers have furnished themselves with a good Quarry of Free-stone on Aquia-Creek, Virginia, of as good Quality, if not superior to any on the Continent (being almost a pure white). Any Gentleman wishing to have Work done in that way, of any kind, or to be supplied with Stone from the Quarry, in the rough, may be furnished with the same, on application to James Reid, at the Quarry, Aquia Creek, or to John M'Glathery, Stone-Cutter, Baltimore-Town, who carries on marble cutting, for Tombs, Chimney-pieces, etc. All orders for applications, for cut Stone, of any kind, or for Stone from the Quarry, in the rough shall be duly attended to, and on the most reasonable Terms, by the Public's most humble servants, John M'Glathery, James Reid.–*Maryland Journal* (Baltimore), May 21, 1790.[27]

> STEUART, ROBERT, Stone Cutter, In Duke Street, and opposite Mr. Grant's Fountain Inn, Returns his most grateful thanks to his Friends, and the Public in general, for the great encouragement he has experienced, in the Line of his Profession, since his Commencement in this Town; he hopes, by an unremitting Attention to his Business, the goodness of his Materials, and the Cheapness of his Work, to merit a continuance of their Favours (his quarry being of the first Quality of Freestone and his work on the most reduced Prices–cheaper than any on the Continent). Orders, from any Part of this or the neighboring States, will be thankfully received, and duly attended to. Prices of Work. All Kinds of Freestone-Work, finished in the best Manner,

	L.	S.	D.
Per Square Foot,		2	6
Revealed Arches, per Arch	1	2	6
For Frames, per Arch	1	0	0
Cellar Cheeks and Sills, p. set	5	0	0
Tomb-Stones, agreeably to the different Plans, Lettering, per Letter	0	0	3
Marble work, such as Slabs and Jambs, per Foot,	0	5	0[28]

Although these cutters did not leave their names on any late-phase stones in St. Mary's County, one of their colleagues, "A. Gaddess, Balt.," signed the James Cook stone (1820) in Christ churchyard, Chaptico.

Similarly, the development of a Washington stonecarving industry appears to have paralleled the growth of the new federal city after 1791. Despite the dearth of newspaper advertisements for Washington carvers, the Reverend James Walton stone (1803) in St. Ignatius churchyard bears the tell-tale inscription "Shaw & Birth, Facit., City of Washington."

Beyond the development of localized stonecarving, local raw materials became more readily available during the late phase and made gravestone procurement more affordable. Companies quarried freestone forty miles below Washington at Aquia Creek in Stafford County, Virginia. Aquia Creek sandstone possessed a high degree of durability. Shortly after 1791, Washington city commissioners decided to use Aquia Creek freestone as the primary building material for the new federal district. The city purchased eleven acres from George Brent in 1791, opened a quarry, and laborers began the arduous task of loading barges for the journey to Washington.[29] The great influx of this relatively inexpensive material alerted stonecutters to its affordability and played a pivotal role in the development of a local stonecarving industry.

Gravestones manufactured of Aquia Creek freestone comprised slightly more than half (54%) of the sample in St. Mary's during the late phase. Shaw & Birth of Washington clearly preferred the Aquia Creek material to other mediums. Newspaper advertisements demonstrate the choice of this material by Baltimore carvers, as well. Even carvers in South Carolina learned of the Virginia freestone. Robert Given, a Charleston artisan, informed his customers in 1797 that door and carriage steps of this material were "equally as good for thick purposes as the Philadelphia Stone, and will come about one third cheaper to the purchaser"[30] Residents of St. Mary's no doubt also recognized the affordable products emerging from Washington and Baltimore.

Notable economic changes within the county itself also allowed more individuals to take advantage of Baltimore and Washington stonecarving. In about 1800 many small landowners and tenants in southern and eastern St. Mary's adapted from tobacco to wheat production.[31] This shift, due in part to failing prices overseas for tobacco,[32] had several consequences. First, small landowners and tenants could, with a relatively small parcel, turn a good profit with wheat. Second, wheat was not as labor-intensive as tobacco. Unlike the latter, which had to be attended throughout every stage of its growth cycle, wheat had only to be tended during the sowing of the seed and at harvest time. Wheat production allowed individuals with relatively little capital to achieve economic success.[33]

The effects of this increased economic mobility are manifested most clearly through changing architectural forms. Before the economic diversification that began around 1800, small producers—either tenants or independent farmers—made do with small, single-story frame houses. Afterward they could replace their impermanent buildings with permanent ones, usually fashioned of brick.[34] Gravestones demonstrated the same relationship between changing economic conditions and material culture. Only two in the study area date between 1785 and 1794, while three fall within the period 1795–1799. Fifteen date between 1800 and 1804, and the figures remain high thereafter—nine for the years 1805 to 1809, seven spanning 1810–1814, and fifteen dating from 1815–1820. Funerary monuments paralleled architectural progression. Before 1800 most small producers marked the graves of the dead with nothing at all, or with impermanent wooden markers; agricultural diversification brought income that allowed the procurement of permanent stone markers.

Because wheat growers had higher average incomes than tobacco growers and

made greater investments in farming equipment and consumer goods, crafts in outlying areas grew in direct response to prosperity. This resulted in increased growth in population, manufacturing and retail. Clusters of stores, mills, and warehouses became potential towns.[35] In areas adjacent to wheat-growing districts, improved economic opportunities prevailed. People who enjoyed higher levels of assessable wealth spent more money on permanent stone markers, and the high number of gravestones in areas adjacent to St. Mary's attests to that fact.

Monuments carved in Baltimore and Washington probably still fell beyond the means of most people in St. Mary's, even during the late phase, and unmarked graves, or graves adorned with impermanent wooden markers, persisted during this period. Urn-shaped stones, an indicator of at least some socio-economic status, became popular. Gravestones became affordable for more St. Mary's County residents than ever before.

In conclusion, gravestone form, origin, and distribution during the period 1634–1820 reflected socio-economic stability and change in St. Mary's—the county's trade and commercial relationships over time. I hope that these findings will help bring to light the wealth of socio-economic data available in gravestones of the colonial and early-republican eras.

Notes

1. The Churches and churchyards examined were Christ, St. Frances Xavier, Trinity, Old St. Aloysius, Sacred Heart, Old St. Joseph's, St. Ignatius, and Our Lady's Chapel. The five private burying grounds are located at "Rosecroft," "The Plains," "Ellenborough," "Porto Bello," and off Seaside View Road. The author wishes to thank Dr. Elizabeth A. Crowell, Dr. Garry Wheeler Stone, Gail Frace, David Babson, and Daniel Nolin for their assistance in this study.

2. Harriette M. Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653–1800* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1927), pp. 5–20.

3. These documents, Public Records Office Accounts of Imports and Exports to Virginia and Maryland, 1697–1775, were examined at the Colonial Williamsburg Research Library, Williamsburg, Virginia.

4. "Will of William Sherwood," *William and Mary Quarterly* (1st ser.), 17 (1908): 268–273.

5. "Coats-of-Arms in Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly* (1st ser.), 4 (1896): 259–270.

6. Helen W. Ridgely, *Historic Graves of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (New York: Grafton Press, 1908), pp. 27–49.

7. Norman Vardney Mackie III, "Funerary Treatment and Social Status: A Case Study of Colonial Tidewater Virginia" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1986), pp. 86–100.

8. William Beverly, for example, in his 1756 will, advised his executors to "send to London for a neat Marble Tombstone" to be placed over the body of an associate. In a like manner, John Custis requested his executor to "lay out and expend as soon as possible after my decease out of my estate the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, money of Great

Britain to buy a handsome tombstone." In the lower right corner of this stone is the tell-tale inscription "Wm Colley, Mason, in Fenchurch Street London, Fecit"

9. Mary Maples Dunn and Richard S. Dunn, "The Founding, 1681–1701" in Russell F. Weigley, ed., *Philadelphia: A 300-Year History* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co. 1982), pp. 20–21.

10. Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 288–289.

11. Alfred Coxe Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1721–1785* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1969), p. 310.

12. Ibid., p. 312.

13. Ibid., pp. 312–313.

14. Elizabeth A. Crowell, "Migratory Monuments and Missing Motifs: Archaeological Analysis of Mortuary Art in Cape May County, New Jersey, 1740–1810" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1983), pp. 83–86.

15. Arthur L. Jensen, *The Maritime Commerce of Colonial Philadelphia* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), p. 70.

16. Jane N. Garrett, "Philadelphia and Baltimore, 1790–1840: A Study of Intra-Regional Unity," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 55 (1960): 10.

17. Elizabeth A. Crowell, personal communication with author, 1986.

18. Will of Captain Gilbert Ireland, St. Mary's County Courthouse, Leonardtown, Maryland.

19. Ridgely, *Historic Graves,* p. 36.

20. Aubrey Land, *Bases of the Plantation Society* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), p. 43.

21. John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (London: T. Harper, 1631), p. 10.

22. See, for example, Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), p. 28.

23. Jeffrey S. Parker, " 'O'er Neptune's Water I've Crossed': New Perspectives on the Ancient Tradition of Wooden Gravemarkers," paper presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology, Boston, 1985.

24. Edward C. Bruce, "The Settlement of Maryland," *Lippincott's Magazine,* 8 (1871): 45.

25. The urn-shaped mode was first identified by Crowell in her explorations of "sensitivity of form"; see Crowell, "Migratory Monuments," pp. 120, 135–137.

26. Garrett, "Philadelphia and Baltimore," p. 3.

27. Alfred Coxe Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina, 1786–1800* (New York: DaCapo Press, 1969), p. 312.

28. Ibid., p. 313.

29. Marvin F. Studebaker, "Freestone from Aquia," *Virginia Cavalcade,* 9 (1959): 35–37.

30. Prime, *Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia,* p. 311.

31. Bayly Ellen Marks, "Economics and Society in a Staple Plantation System: St. Mary's County" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1979), p. 655; Cary Carson, Norman F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio,* 16 (1981): 174.

32. Marks, "Economics and Society," p. 657.

33. Carson, et al., "Impermanent Architecture," p. 175.

34. Ibid., p. 174.

35. Marks, "Economics and Society," pp. 659–660.

Sidelights on Christopher Hughes, Sr., and on Charles Willson Peale's Portrait of Hughes

ALEXANDRA LEE LEVIN AND LEWIS A. BECK, JR.

Little is known about the father of America's first career diplomat,[1] but Christopher Hughes, Sr. (1744–1824), obviously achieved sufficient prominence to launch his son on his future path in life.

Born in County Wexford, Ireland, around 1744, the elder Hughes is supposed to have arrived at Baltimore in 1771. Two years later Christopher Hughes and Co., goldsmiths and jewelers at the sign of the Cup and Crown, corner of Market and Gay Streets, advertised for sale "a neat and elegant" assortment of plate and jewelry that could be furnished to ladies and gentlemen "on the most reasonable terms." The newspaper listing offered such items as silver coffeepots and teapots, plain gold stock shoe buckles and "macaroni" buckles for dudes, watch keys, hair lockets "set in gold and fancy-work," punch strainers, and silver spurs. On 28 May 1774, Hughes advised his customers that his partnership with John Carnan was dissolved, but that Hughes "still continues the business on his own account."[2]

Around 1790 the senior Hughes gave up silversmithing to devote all his efforts to business interests around Federal Hill. Eventually he owned almost every important parcel of land in the area, including the waterfront with its wharves as well as a large, prosperous brickyard. Without doubt his wealth gave him clout, and on more than one occasion at his request the city commissioners met in his home to straighten a boundary or open a new street. City directories listed him as "Gentleman," a term reserved for the wealthy, influential, and socially prominent. He lived then on Forest Street, now Charles, near the point where Hughes Street intersected it.

Christopher Hughes, Sr., and his wife, Peggy, had three daughters and four sons. In the last century boys who lived in the Federal Hill area used to chant this couplet:

"Federal Hill and Sandy Bottom, Old Kit Hughes is gone and forgotten."

Included in the background of a portrait of Christopher Hughes painted by Charles Willson Peale in 1788 and acquired recently by the Maryland Historical Society is the very interesting representation of a sailing vessel. The vessel suggests the features of the developing Baltimore Clipper.

Much has been written about the sailing qualities of the Baltimore Clipper schooner, that romantic product of Chesapeake Bay shipbuilders. The speed,

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Ms. Levin has contributed often to the *Maryland Historical Magazine;* Mr. Beck serves on the society's Maritime Committee.

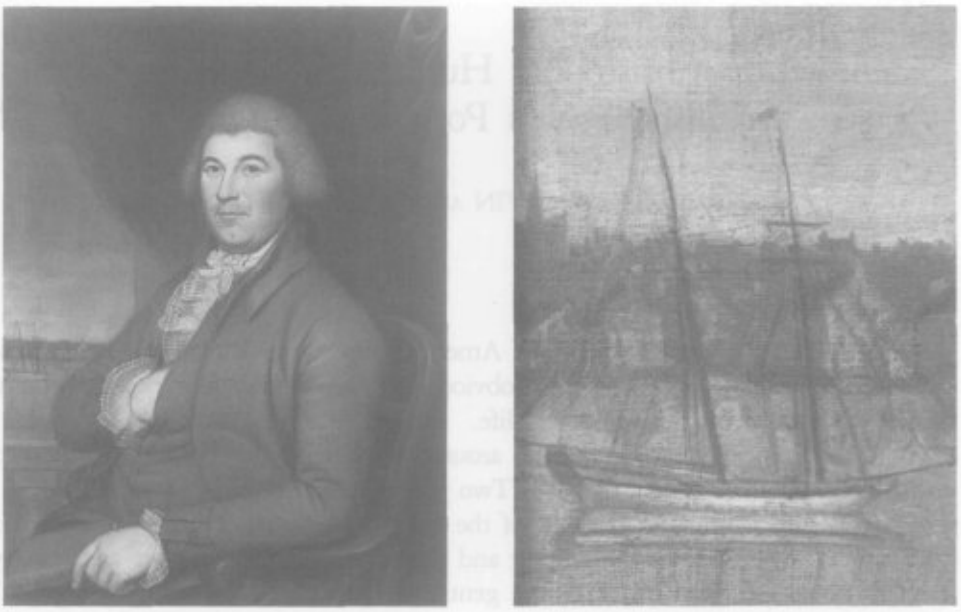

FIGURE 1. Christopher Hughes (1744–1824). Oil painting by Charles Willson Peale, 1788. (Maryland Historical Society. Photos by Jeff Goldman.)

agility, and capacity of the design to sail close to the wind made it the choice of shipowners wherever the need for evasion, surprise, and quick escape were requisites of a successful voyage. As a result, the fine-lined Baltimore Clipper (or Virginia-built) schooner excelled as a privateer, in light naval operations, dispatching, smuggling, slaving and other official or clandestine purposes.

The happy combination of sleek hull shape, arrangement of sails and proportions of masts and spars of the privateer schooner of 1812 undoubtedly resulted from years of experiment, testing, and adjustment. The origins of this highly successful design are, for the present, lost in time as are the names of those shipbuilding pioneers, but it is safe to conjecture that the need for speedy vessels during the new nation's struggles in the American Revolution brought about a remarkable period of rapid development of the Baltimore Clipper schooner. After the Revolution, the continued threat of French and British depredations on American commerce further stimulated the evolution of the fast-sailing Baltimore Clipper. Rigged either as topsail schooners or brigs, these lightly armed merchantmen had to rely on speed and maneuverability to outsail their pursuers and carry on business as usual.

The sailing vessel in the Hughes portrait is not identified, but close examination suggests that its lines and rigging are similar to those of the American privateer schooner *Swift* captured in 1779, taken into the Royal Navy in 1783, and sold in 1784. The vessel in the portrait has nearly the identical sheer (curve of deckline from front to back), raked stern post, sharply raked stem and cutwater, high transom, and long fancy rail. While the vessel is painted in very small scale the artist yet managed to convey important features that indicate that she is an early example of the developing Clipper style—the long head with curving head rails, the high transom and long quarter deck are old style; the fine entrance (sharper

toward the front), the hollow run (concave at the back), the low steve (angle) of the bowsprit and jib boom, and the sharply raked stem, sternpost, and mainmast all speak of the radical new style. Also the vessel is pictured sitting quite high in the water, an indication that she was built to be light in weight, thus adding to her quality of speed.

Why Peale chose to embellish the portrait of Hughes with this particular vessel is not known, but given the artist's reputation for exactness of detail we can assume such a vessel existed and was probably in some way connected to Hughes. A merchant as well as a silversmith and land owner, Christopher Hughes offered to pay Peale for the portrait in "wine and rum"—a piece of evidence that suggests the sitter engaged in trade with the West Indies, a commerce much relying on the swift Baltimore Clipper schooner. Peale further noted in his diary that he agreed to add a portrait of Hughes' wife and daughter to the deal, in exchange for the artist's board and lodging during the sittings. Thus we can be reasonably certain that Peale portrayed Hughes in his large house at the foot of Federal Hill (near the present location of the Maryland Science Center) where the view northward would have encompassed the growing Baltimore harbor. Unfortunately, a review of maritime records at the Maryland Historical Society does not identify Hughes as having been either a ship owner or a direct consignee of cargo during the period 1780 to 1800, so the possibility remains that Peale included the vessel purely for "local color," as he saw it from Hughes' window.

For whatever reason Peale recorded the vessel, it comes down to us as important contemporary evidence supporting current theories dating the development of the Baltimore Clipper to the period during and shortly after the American Revolution.

Notes

1. See Chester G. Dunham, "Christopher Hughes, Jr. at Ghent, 1814," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 66 (1971): 288–99, and Dunham, "A Nineteenth Century Baltimore Diplomat: Christopher Hughes Goes to Sweden," ibid., 72 (1977): 387–400.

2. Baltimore *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,* 20 August 1773 and 28 May 1774.

More Baltimore Cabinetmakers and Allied Tradesmen, 1800-1845

MICHAEL A. GRIMES

Furniture produced in nineteenth-century Baltimore has been the subject of much research and of several works that in whole or in part describe individual craftsmen.[1] This supplemental list brings to light previously unknown craftsmen and provides additional information for others who contributed to furniture making in Baltimore in the period 1800 to 1845. Information for this list derives from a variety of sources, including city directories (CD), Property Tax Records, RG 4, Baltimore City Archives (TR), *Craig's Business Directory* (CB), and literary and archival records.[2] Following the names of the individuals are their occupation, the approximate dates they worked, and references. Addresses are provided for those individuals who had a business address.

BARRETT, ASA. Upholsterer. 1827–1845 CD.

BASSON, JAMES. Upholsterer. 1845 CD. 404 West Baltimore Street.

BIRCH, WILLIAM S. Upholsterer. 1830–1842 CD. 122 West Baltimore Street, "under Peale's Museum" (1830). In 1830 the city paid him for supplying the new City Hall with draperies and accessories; in 1832 he offerred to make mattresses for the city "in case the cholera should visit."[3] He is listed in the 1822–1829 and 1843–1845 directories as a paperhanger and manufacturer.

BOOTH, JOSEPH. Upholsterer. 1817 TR; 1845 CD.

BOULDIN, DAVID. Chair ornamentor. 1836 TR; 1840 CD.

BOWERS, (?) AND HUME, WILLIAM. Cabinetmakers who probably worked prior to 1841, as tax assessments show that year they bought the stock and furniture of (?) McCracken.

BRANNAN, PETER E. Cabinetmaker. 1841 TR.

BURGESS, WILLIAM. Upholsterer. 1842 CD.

BYRNE, JAMES. Cabinetmaker- In 1844 he applied to the mayor and city council to make coffins for the Western District.[4]

BYRNE, RICHARD. Cabinetmaker. Moved from Baltimore to Dobbs Ferry, New York, in late 1842.[5]

CHAMBERS, MISS M. A. Upholsterer. 1842 CD.

COCHRANE AND BROTHER. Cabinetmakers. May have been working earlier than 1840, as Scharf described a shop on Cypress Alley (destroyed by fire in 1838) which belonged to a "Mr. Cochrane."[6]

CRAWFORD, JAMES. Chair painter. 1845 CD.

Mr. Grimes serves in the Department of Legislative Reference, Baltimore City Archives and Records Management Office.

CROMWELL, THOMAS. Cabinetmaker. In 1844 he solicited the Baltimore City Council for the position of coffin-maker for the Eastern District.[7]

DALEY, JACOB. Chairmaker- Supplied chairs to the city schools in 1841.[8]

DAVIDS, MRS.- Chair caner. 1842 CD.

DAVIDSON, (?). Upholsterer. 1823 TR.

DOBLER, GEORGE. Turner.[9] 1843 TR. Worked for Jacob Daley.

DOUGHERTY, (?). Cabinetmaker. 1844 TR.

DUGAN, THOMAS. Upholsterer. 1827 CD.

DUGENT, FRANCIS. Upholsterer. 1827 CD–1842 CD.

DUMEL, P. Cabinetmaker. 1843 CBD. Hillen Street.

EISINGER, GEORGE. Cabinetmaker. 1845 CD.

FISHER, ADAM. Cabinetmaker. 1843 CBD. Pennsylvania Avenue.

FISHER, JAMES. Cabinetmaker. 1798 TR. 54 Charles Street.

FOSLER, JOHN. Chairmaker. 1820 TR. Worked in "Finley's shop."

GOLDER, ARCHIBALD. Upholsterer. 1830–1841 TR. In 1830 the city paid him for supplying and hanging wallpaper in the new City Hall.[10]

GRIFFITH, G. S. AND BROTHER. Upholsterers. 1842–1845 CD. 100 ½ and 128 West Baltimore Street (1845).

HADELY, JOHN. Cabinetmaker. 1845 CD.

HAYS, ROBERT. Furniture and house carver. 1842–1845 CD. 43 South Gay Street.

HISS, JACOB. Chairmaker. In 1830 he supplied the new City Hall with three "cane bottom chairs, with arms ($37.50 each)" and one "ditto without arms, $27.00."[11]

HODGES, BENJAMIN. Upholsterer. 1845 CD.

HODGES, JAMES. Upholsterer. 1841 TR.

HOLLAND, WILLIAM. Upholsterer. 1843 TR. Worked for Walter Crook, Jr.

JOHNSON, GERARD. Upholsterer. 1837 TR.

KELLER, CHARLES. Upholsterer. 1843 TR. Worked for Walter Crook, Jr.

LEOMA, BURGESS. Upholsterer. 1843 TR. Worked for Walter Crook, Jr.

LOCK, THOMAS O. Upholsterer. 1830–1842 CD. In 1830 the city paid him for work done in the new City Hall: varnishing thirty-four small and five large desks (and covering the same with green cloth) and making five carpets for the mayor's office, committee room of the Second Branch of the City Council, and the joint committee room.[12]

McCAULLY, JOSEPH. Upholsterer. 1836 TR; 1845 CD.

MERRYMAN, OLIVER P. In 1843, before he opened his own shop, he worked for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.[13]

MORGAN, EDWARD. Furniture store. 1841 TR. North Harrison Street.

PARKS, MAYBERRY. Furniture store. 1829 CD. Exeter and Necessity.

OTHWAIT, MRS. M. Upholsterer. 1829 CD.

RANDALL, ELISHA. Chairpainter. 1842 CD.

REUBINS, CHARLES. Upholsterer. 1841 TR.

ROBINSON, SAMUEL. Chairpainter. 1842 CD.

SCHOLES (SHOLES), THOMAS. Upholsterer. 1841 TR; 1845 CD.

SPRIGG, EDWARD. Upholsterer. 1819–1827 CD.

STURGIS, J. A. Upholsterer. 1842–1845 CD.

SUTER, JAMES. Turner. In 1830 he was paid by the city for supplying several items (including table legs) for the new City Hall.[14]

SUTLIFF, THOMAS. Furniture store. 1827–1829 CD. Baltimore Street. Listed as a second-hand furniture store.

WILMOT, JOHN G. Upholsterer. 1845 CD.

YERMAN, WILLIAM. Furniture store. 1841 TR. Pratt Street. Listed as a second-hand furniture store.

YOUNG, REBECCA. Upholsterer. 1842–1845 CD.

ZIGLER, MRS. ELIZABETH. Upholsterer. 1842–1845 CD.

NOTES

1. For authoritative checklists of Baltimore furniture craftsmen, see Ethel Hall Bjerkoe, *The Cabinetmakers of America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1957); Henry J. Berkley, "A Register of the Cabinetmakers and Allied Trades in Maryland As Shown by the Newspapers and Directories, 1746 to 1820," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* 25, (1930): 1–27; William Elder, *Baltimore Painted Furniture, 1800 to 1840* (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1972); John H. Hill, "The Furniture Craftsman in Baltimore, 1783-1823" (M. A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1967), appendices A, B, and C; and Gregory R. Weidman, *Furniture in Maryland, 1740 to 1940* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1984).

2. Newspapers were not used in this research. Other sources will probably yield even more names and information.

3. Account of Expenses, RG 21 S 10A, document 1067, and Birch to Mayor William Stewart, RG 9 S 2, document 1082, both in the collections of the Baltimore City Archives (hereafter cited as BCA).

4. RG 19 S 1, document 1102, BCA.

5. Eileen and Richard DuBrow, *American Furniture of the Nineteenth Century, 1840 to 1880* (Exton, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, 1983), p. 25.

6. Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia: Louis Everts, 1881), p. 262.

7. RG 19 S 1, document 1103, BCA.

8. Reports and Returns of the City Schools, RG 41 S 1, document 1362, BCA.

9. There were other turners in Baltimore, of course, but how much they contributed to furniture production is unknown. Many of them, like Dobler, probably made parts for chairs. Others may have made furniture parts in addition to doing other work. Only those turners who are known to have been involved in furniture production in some way have been included in this list.

10. Account of Expenses, RG 21 S 10A, document 1067, BCA.

11. Account of Expenses, RG 21 S 10A, document 1067, BCA.

12. Account of Expenses, RG 21 S 10A, document 1067, BCA.

13. RG 4 S 1, 1843, Tax Assessment, BCA.

14. Account of Expenses, RG 21 S 10A, document 1067, BCA. Suter worked until the mid-1850s (or later), but his other furniture-related activities are unknown.

Captain Rowley Visits Maryland; Part II of a Series

PETER ROWLEY, Ed.

Part I of the Robert Rowley letters, which appeared in last fall's issue of the magazine, brought welcomed comment from readers. One member of the society, correcting us, pointed out quite rightly that a "74" was a man o' war carrying that many guns (see p. 242 in last year's volume), not a cannon that fired shot of that weight (as in Civil-War field pieces). Another letter came from George M. Radcliffe, a longtime member of the Maritime Committee, who wrote of a family tradition surrounding his ancestor, "Grandmother" Polly Critchett, who in the early nineteenth century lived on Taylor's Island in the bay. In 1814, learning of the British approach, she hid all her silver and jewelry in a hole that she covered with a goose nest, according to family tradition. When the British reached the Critchett estate, they burned the outhouses, even poked holes in the brass andirons, Mr. Radcliffe recounts, "but lacked the courage to move the setting goose." The invaders carried off Grandmother Polly's husband. Not hesitating at all, she and a friend got into a launch and rowed to the British warship *Marlborough,* where the British apparently treated her to port wine and sweet meats and returned her not only with her freed husband but with a souvenir piece of the ship's silver. The formidable Polly, whom another descendant described as a "black eyed charmer," lived until 1857; many of her furnishings, including "Grandmother Polly's grandfather's clock," remain in the family.

For the editorial principles that have guided this transcription, see the headnote to Part I. *MHM* Ed.

Captain Rowley sent his patron and first cousin, once removed, Owsley Rowley, further copies of Alexander Cochrane's commendations after the attack on Washington, D.C. The next one noted the gallantry of the small diversionary force that ascended the Potomac and captured Alexandria, Virginia, while the main body seized the federal capital. At one point during the escape Gordon could not raise his guns high enough to reach American shore batteries. He shifted ballast until the decks tilted up on one side, thus giving him the angle necessary to reach the Potomac cliffs.

Memo *Tonnant* Chesapeake 19th Septr 1814

The Commander in Chief having this day received the report of the proceedings of the detachment of HM Ships sent up the Potowmac to co-operate with the combined forces in the Patuxent, feels it incumbent on him to offer his warmest

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Mr. Rowley, author of several books, divides his time between New York City and his native Cambridgeshire. He is descended of the recipient of these letters, Owsley Rowley.

congratulations to Captn Gordon and the other Captains, Commanders, Offiers, Seamen and Marines on the success which crowned their zealous exertions.

Five days successively with the exception of a few hours the Ships were constantly warping a distance of fifty miles, through a navigation so shallow & so intricate, that in spite of every exertion in buoying the Channel, the Ships were each not less than twenty times aground.

Fort Washington and the batteries adjacent were deserted by the Enemy upon the bursting of the first shell from the Bombs, after exploding their Powder Magazine, and the whole of the twenty seven guns which they contained and their carriages were effectually destroyed by our people.

The populous city of Alexandria, awed by the bold and determined approach of our ships, sent out an Officer to capitulate and yielded to the terms dictated by Captain Gordon.

Twenty one vessels full of Merchandize were the reward of this dexterous enterprize, several of which having been previously sunk to prevent removal were weighed, dismasted, hove keel out, Caulked and paid, fitted and loaded in the short period of three days during which the squadron remained at Alexandria.

Indifferent attempts to destroy our shipping by fire vessels were defeated by British gallantry.

And the different batteries mounting altogether from 25 to 30 Guns constructed in the narrowest parts of the River in the confident expectation of effectually preventing the return of the Ships, upon a range of Commanding Cliffs under which they were necessarily exposed to the Efforts of a numerous musketry also—were silenced by fire of His Majesty's Squadron; the whole of which with their prizes were brought out of the River with a loss very inferior to that of the Enemy, who at length beaten into a conviction that he could no longer hope to control their movements, let them pass down the River without further molestation.

The Commander in Chief not wishing to discriminate minutely where all appear to have done even more than their duty, offers his thanks to Captain Gordon, who so well justified the confidence placed in his zeal and ability, to Captains Napier, Alexander, Kenah, Baker, Bartholomew and Roberts, and the whole of the Officers, Seamen and Marines of this Gallant detachment, for the conspicuous zeal and the unremitting Exertion which distinguished their conduct on this brilliant occasion.

And he is desirous of calling the attention of the fleet under his Command to this further proof that there is scarcely any difficulty which may not be overcome by a cordial support of each other and a steady determination to Conquer.

By order of the Commander in Chief
Sign'd. Edwd. Codrington Rear Admiral & Captain of the Fleet

Rowley's next letter describes the British attack on Baltimore.

Mouth of the Petapsco Septr. 16th 1814 near Baltimore

Sorry am I to acquaint you my dear Sir that the brilliancy of our late unparalleled victory over the Enemy at Washington and Alexandria by a race of Heroes has been clouded by our failure in a recent attack upon Baltimore. It is by most persons not considered a failure, no absolute attack having been made on their lines or

Town, and the general term of the Affair is a Reconnaissance. Wherever our troops did meet the Enemy they dispossessed them of the positions they had taken up and they fled with rapidity on the Bayonet being shewn. On our small army approaching the vicinity of Baltimore they observed the Army of the Enemy 4 times their number amounting to 20,000 Men in an immense strong position double entrenchments with about 70 Pieces of Cannon. Our bombs and frigates approached their batteries. The former Bombarded for two days—nearly—but with little Effect for they could not get within range of the Town. The Enemy had sunk several vessels across the River. Their batteries were very heavy one had 90 pieces of Cannon of 42 & 32 prs. It was intended to have stormed their strong position, but thank God they did not. Had they the loss would indeed have been great at least 1000. As it is we have suffered much and in one an irreperable loss—that invaluable & Heroic General Ross fell early on the Afternoon of landing when far advanced with a small party reconnoitring a Rifleman concealed picked him off who was instantly Shot. Our loss in killed & wounded amount to between 2 & 300 men. I have been fortunate only having lost my Clerk, a most exemplary and invaluable young man, an irreperable loss to his fond Mother & family and to the Service and Society in general. I had his interest much at heart and had sanguine hopes of getting him made a purser. We were not molested in the smallest degree in our retreat and got the whole of the wounded off. Sad, sad wounds, some of them. I have 18 poor creatures on board—doing as well as can be expected. Our future operations I can have no idea of. I regret we ever returned up the Chesapeake again—but it was so fated. We must quit this bay for we are getting very sickly. We must shortly get into Winter Quarters.

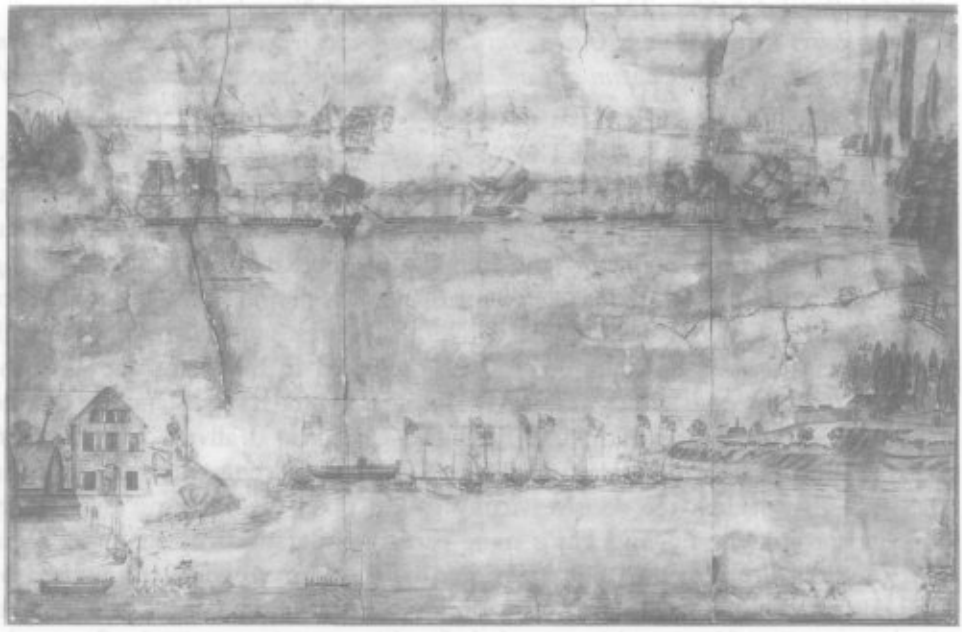

FIGURE 1. "Bombardment of Fort McHenry, Sept. 13–14, 1814." Drawing (graphite and watercolor) by an unknown artist. (Peale Museum.)

This My dear Sir is a melancholy detail contrasted with my last. But it perhaps is requisite we should sometimes meet with reverses, or we should be too elated and forget ourselves. When you consider that 1500 men a handful of our troops again drove the Enemy at the point of the Bayonet out of a position they had taken up with 7,000 men, we may in truth say here is British valour exemplified. Attached to the Army this time were 700 Seamen who marched & behaved much to the Satisfaction of the Army and of course to ourselves. Being still unwell, I was not permitted to go on Shore, but was during the day actively employed on the boats & Ship. Was not admitted into the night air by order of the Phisician of the fleet. Such is the irritability of my stomach that I must give up if we remain in these Rivers. Such is the advice & opinions I receive from all my friends. The Heroic Admiral Cockburn is among them. His Country has not a more zealous more able, or a more Gallant Servant than him. He was with Poor General Ross at his death.

Sept 18th. I was obliged to leave off yesterday. We are now out of the River and again in the Chesapeake. Our destination is uncertain we are moving down. Pray present my warmest regards and respects to Mrs. Rowley and every individual of your truly amiable family. Report states *Generals Robinson* and *Brisbane* [Rowley probably referred to British supply ships] have arrived in this Country. If so active measures will be the result 'ere we get to winter quarters. It strikes me that Rhode Island is our next immediate object. Heaven Grant we may succeed, and close the Campaign for the year gloriously as we began it.

God bless you my dear Sir, may Heaven shower on you & yours Every Earthly blessing. Adieu Ever affy & gratefully your R Rowley.

There is no date on the following letter, but it was included in a package of letters that included official dispatches. The date on the envelope was 8 November 1814.

In it Robert Rowley thanked Owsley, his first cousin once removed, for helping to get him promoted to either Acting Captain or Captain and enclosed a copy of Admiral Codrington's commendation of British forces for the assault on Baltimore.

Tonnant 16th Sept. Chesapeake.

The Commander in Chief is desirous of expressing to the Flag officers, Captains, Commnd Officers Seamen and Marines of the fleet, his admiration of their zealous and able Exertions in conducting the Shipping up the River Patapsco, and aiding the army in the demonstration & reconnaissance which was deemed advisable to make upon the City of Baltimore. He derives the greatest satisfaction from the high encomiums bestowed by Coll. Brook (who succeeded in the Command after the death of the brave and greatly esteem'd General Ross) for the assistance he derived from Rear Admiral Cockburn, Captain Edwd Crofton and all the Captains, Officers, Seamen and Marines attached to the Army and he congratulates them upon the share they had in the decisive victory gained upon the 12th inst over a very superior force of the Enemy. He is more particularly gratified by the order regularity and obedience to their officers evinced by the Seamen which was noticed by Coll. Brook[2] and the whole Army even during the heat of the Battle. And he takes the opportunity of having this example before him to point out to the fleet under

his command that the best proofs of steady and cool bravery are a scrupulous obedience of orders & a strict attention to discipline.

By order of Commr in Chief, E. Codrington Rr Adml Capt Fleet

Captain Rowley continued his own narrative:

The whole of these orders were read and had a very good effect. Immediately after they were distributed the Campaign in a great measure broke up. The Commr in Chief quitted the Chesapeake as also Adml Cockburn. The Army remained and the Command devolved on Admiral Malcolm, who again moved up the Potowmac and was good enough to give me the Command of the Advanced Squadron, consisting of the Brune, Melpomene, Thistle Brig, and Hornet Schooner, with directions to land the whole of the Marine Battalion on a Certain day but left the spot entirely to my Judgement having been up the River before. Which orders were Complied with and the following sentence contained in Adml Malcolm's letter to me, as also his official dispatch will prove.

Dear Rowley, I perfectly approve of all that you have done and you merit my thanks. I am going out of the Chesapeake. You are to remain under orders of Capt Barrie of the Dragon til Cockburn returns. Make all possible dispatch to join me before we separate from Dragon. every truly yours, P. Malcolm

I did so joined the following day and remained the whole day with him, but on getting on board the Royal Oak what a shock I received. I found one of the bravest, one of the finest, the most affectionate virtuous and highly honorable characters my Esteem'd friend Poor Captain Kenah of HMS AEtna had fallen by a Rifleman who picked him off when leading the detachment of the army under Col Brooke. Many, many of us here have to deplore his loss. He possess'd every good quality that can adorn human nature. He was to sum up the Whole the nearest perfection of any *naval friend* not acquaintance I have ever met with. Having a tolerable poetical Genius on board, I have begged him to write an Epitaph which I purposed placing on the Island of Tangier in the Chesapeake and have forwarded a Copy to his friends. We had been up this River before and selected to lead detachments of the Army. Alas! poor fellow he fell. I *escaped*. The Skirmish of our division was soon over. I had landed one piece of Artillery which alarmed the Cavalry who were hovering about us. We returned to the Ships without the loss of a Man; with plenty of Stock of every description three Prisoners we took one a Justice of the Peace—however I released them and landed them a day or two afterwards. The Epitaph on poor Kenah was prefaced with a suitable preamble which you observe on Public or Private Cenotaphs. But the lines are as follows—

No venal flattery swells these humble lines
But unaffected truth the verse enshrines
While artless grief with throbbing breast displays
To every Eye a good Man's Name and Praise.
He was for Virtue's path he firmly trod
"An Honest Man, the noblest work of God"
Just to his Country, to his friends sincere
To all who knew him ah! how truly dear
Brave but humane & skilled with art to blend
The strict Command, with his Seamen's friend

His People Mourn and all their loss lament
That Heaven so soon has snatch'd the worth it lent.

A. D. Baldrey Masters Mate HMS *Melpomene* Octr 30 1814

The bearer of this to England, a nephew of poor dear Kenah has a Copy for his mourning friends. Kenah was the youngest of 23 Children by same Father & Mother—adored by all who knew him, and admired by Strangers of all classes. He was one of the Heroes of Alexandria. The Enemy spoke highly of his Gentlemanly conduct during the Capitulation of the City. There was a mildness, a gentleness in his manners not common to *us rough and uncouth sailors*. Yet with all his abilities as an Officer, and a perfect Sailor was conspicuous and noted. You will I am sure forgive my trespassing on your time and patience by detailing an Eulogium on departed excellence. It is to me a source of consolation, for for him I possessed a Brotherly affection. It was a friendship dear and mutual. Sincerity formed its Basis.

Again in the Patowmac after having been up several other Rivers & Bays. Here we came to waters with melancholy prospect indeed quite short of provisions in some species not ten days, when an order of a painful nature was given to go to short allowance with an Exhortation that we should all bear it with becoming resolution, that the Blockade of the Chesapeake was absolutely necessary to be kept up. Feeling such, they would bear it without a murmur, & a ship was dispatched to Bermuda to state our situation, but the uncertainty of the season can form no idea of her return.

It is horrible here. We were all hands nearly lost about a fortnight since. We all got into our boats about 5 in the afternoon with [troops] to go and attack the Town of Cambridge 25 miles up the Choptank River, it not being navigable for ships. That night it came on Severe Gale. The Tenor Bomb got aground and the Schooners we coud not get to them. Our only alternative was to anchor the Boats. Towards morning the gale increased and our boats got adrift. No one knew where we were. No one had ever been up the River before. The day opened and pictured to us a dreadful sight. We were sometime collecting together. Still blowing we took up a position on shore and hauled our boats ⟨thank⟩ God without the loss of a single one. It moderated ⟨in the?⟩ afternoon. The Tenor being on shore we made towards ⟨her⟩ to assist and gave up Cambridge. We were all the ⟨next?⟩ night adrift in a very heavy squall. The boats parted. I was in our smallest boat my Gig my Servant and a Major with me. Capts Barrie & Alexander were in Similar Boats. It was dreadful work. However thank God we are all safe. A few days ago we had a reconnotre. We had on shore about 150 men, when the Enemy with 1000 infantry 150 of their choicest dragoons viz the 1st United States, attacked us. Unfortunately for them they were to[o] Precipitate in the Charge the dragoons made, for they charged into a morass and 25 were dismounted & retreated in disorder. We shot 14 of their Horses. The Officer in Command was wounded in the neck but did not fall into our hands. Three or four wounded were seen. Two prisoners we brought off and as they were taken in a singular manner I cannot but detail the Anecdote. Prior to our seeing the Enemy's force the Boats Crews were ordered up with rope to bring Cattle down. At the moment of their advancing the Enemy charged took two of the Blue Jackets Prisoners, and desired them to get up behind them immediately. They did so. And the Dragoons went off full speed with their Prisoners,

Jack [nickname for a British sailor] saw—and from a bird's eye view of the position both parties were placed in—took the opportunity at the moment of their leaping a fence to throw themselves back and escape. A man belonging to the Dragon of the name of Adams stated that the Dragoon took him up behind made him fast "& was vastly uncivil" so says Jack. A happy moment offered when he dragged the Horseman of[f] his horse and brought him down a Prisoner to the boat saying ["]your Horse carried both of us but I can carry you alone," a *precious Prize you are*. One of the men of this ship did not succeed so gloriously, but he cut all away & brought on board now in my possession the contents of the accoutrenents attached to a dragoon. And now to conclude this dreadful long Epistle I must tell you I am heartily tired of the Chesapeake and of the mode of Warfare we are obliged to carry on. We are accused by the American Papers of robbing Henroosts, of stealing beds Blankets, male and female wearing apparel and of Every horrible depredation possible, this to inflame the minds of their ignorant countrymen.

Poor Wretches. Their scandalous Assertions will be reflected back upon them. There are a few Good men among them there is no doubt but the Wicked preponderate. They will do anything for money. You may purchase information of any of them. They sell their neighbour's property frequently. During the summer Peace was much talked of. But I think it now impossible. If they possess any degree of Honor or love for their Country the Terms held out by our Government I think degrading to the United States. And they cannot if any National Pride exists submit to them *nor will they*. Maddison I think will be deposed 'Ere Six Months Elapses. The Papers are very violent, and under the present System they can attain no force. The Regular Army they have are in Canada, and their Sea Coast protected by the individuals who reside there Enrolled in Militia. So that wherever we move in the Ships they collect and move after us. When we know they are there we then move off to another spot. This is a harassing System carried on. Many have died from fatigue. I am sorry to say we are now very sickly, losing men daily and in the Squadron about 300 ill. And I fear my Constitution will feel the Effects of a Chesapeake Cruize. However I hope I have made enough prize money to Subt. off £200 of my Agent's Debt. And this Winter if my Head is saved I bargain for a greater Sum. Pray give my most affectionate and grateful regards to Mrs. Rowley and every [torn] of your blessed family. May Heaven Protect you all. This is the prayer of your [torn] ever faithful & obliged R. Rowley."

On the outside of the envelope the captain wrote one further message around the wax seal imprinted with the Rowley family arms:

> Novr. 8 We have had three days of incessant rain with some wind—but *Thank God* Provisions have arrived and the horrible idea of starvation ceases. God bless you all prays your attached & grateful R.R.

A Soldier's Letters, 1864

PHILIP M. REITZEL

In mid-July 1864 Confederate forces made their third and final push into the western part of Maryland, this time under the command of General Jubal A. Early. Hagerstown and Frederick were forced to pay ransom money to avoid destruction. Union forces under General Lew Wallace were defeated at the Monocacy River, and Confederate troops of General Bradley T. Johnson and Colonel Harry Gilmor passed through New Windsor and Westminster, pushing as far east as Cockeysville and Towson, wrecking railroad and telegraph lines. General Early himself advanced on Washington, reaching as close as Rockville and Silver Spring before finally retiring.[1] With this dire threat to the seat of the Federal government, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for the enlistment for 100 days of 29,000 men from the states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. One of the men to answer this call, Louis Russell LeClear of Staten Island, New York, enlisted in the 93rd Regiment of the New York State National Guard. No more than 16 years of age, LeClear lived in Stapleton, Staten Island, New York. His family had located there only recently; in 1863 they resided in South Brooklyn and not long before then in Buffalo. Louis's father, Thomas LeClear, a soon-to-be eminent *genre* and portrait painter, divided his time between studios in New York City and Buffalo. Louis's elder sister recently had married the artist William H. Beard. The boy's mother, who formerly tutored in a girls' school in New York City, exercised a firm hand in overseeing her son's education. He had spent the 1862–1863 school year at a private military academy in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, where he studied conventional subjects such as French and drawing as well as the more esoteric military matters of "Fortifications" and "The Movement of Armies." An intelligent and level-headed youth who wrote a good hand and used a decent vocabulary, Louis nonetheless was ill-prepared to face the realities of the summer of 1864.[2]

In the first of the series of letters exchanged between Louis and his family, a letter to his father in Buffalo, we see a young man imbued with a sense of duty to his country but also mindful of his duty to his parents. "I hardly thought they would take me," he wrote of his enlistment, on 14 July, "but believed it my duty to see if they would, for I have not done this from whim but because I thought it to be my duty to go if I could do any good. . . . I hope you will think I have done right, for it would make me feel very uncomfortable to go & think you dis[ap]proved of it." He told his father also, "Mother says nothing against [my enlisting] though it makes her feel very badly, as she knows that I go because I feel it to be my duty to do so."

Mr. Reitzel, a Columbia resident, serves on the board of directors, Howard County Historical Society.

The actual "mustering in" took place on 20 July and, after having been issued uniforms and muskets, Louis and his regiment departed New York City on the weekend of 23 July "to go to Washington to be employed in the trenches there," the young man told his father.

Louis's first letters home after departing New York, written on 28 July to his mother in Staten Island and to his father in Buffalo, tell us that the ultimate destination of the 93rd Regiment was not to be "the trenches of Washington" but rather the encampment at Relay House, Maryland. Enroute from New York, an hour's stop was made in Philadelphia where "the Sanitary Commission gave us a breakfast which was a very good one." Dinner was in Baltimore, "provided by the citizens of that place," but it did not measure up to the Philadelphia breakfast. Louis described dinner as "salt junk & bread with coffee with out any milk. You ought to have heard the boys swear. Of course, it was not their place to say anything, but then [the meal] looked so mean by the side of the breakfast that they could not help it."[3]

The stop in Baltimore lasted two days, and the encampment was at "Baltimore Heights."[4] Getting there involved marching from "the cars" and apparently encouraged some Baltimoreans to exploit the presence of these visitors from New York on a hot July day: "We were not allowed to leave the ranks & some of the boys paid five & ten cents for a canteenful of water." Once at Baltimore Heights the troops had just settled in when they were ordered to pack up and move out. Marching orders came after "we had just got our tents up & were putting the finishing touch on them when we had to pull them up . . . & then march for Baltimore where we got on board the cars & started for this place," Louis wrote from Relay House encampment where they had arrived at 11:00 P.M. Tuesday, 26 July. "We slept in the open air that night," he continued "but [the next] night we had our tents up & in two or three days will have every thing fixed in style."

If Louis and his comrades found the "salt junk and bread" dinner of Baltimore unpalatable, they had yet to discover the staples of government rations—salt pork and hardtack. At their first introduction to this fare, they were amused by its novelty. The hardtack they were temporarily able to avoid, "for we bought a good deal of soft bread at Baltimore." As for the salt pork, Louis's initial encounter with it evoked facetious comments: "You know that I never liked fat, but if you could see me eat it now, you would think I had been raised on it." He told how he ate the pork: "When it is boiled, I take a piece of fat & cut it in very thin slips & put

FIGURE 1. Tent encampment of Federal troops at Relay House. (*Harper's Weekly*, 25 May 1861.)

it on my bread & imagine I have butter." Just a week later, however, he wrote home to his mother, "I wish you would send me some good things to eat in a box, for they would taste good after having eaten hard tack that you have to break in pieces with a stone before you can eat it."

His mother's reply to this request was sympathetic but pragmatic: "Were it possible, I would send some food to you, but it is impossible to tell where you will be. I presume you will soon be moved again, and, another thought is, that having other food, 'twould be hard for you to go back to soldier's fare—so that it is best, upon the whole, to take it as it comes."

Also at Relay House Louis had his eyes opened to some of the coarser facts of army camp life, including thievery. In his very first letter home from that encampment, he wrote: "Talking about thieves, I never saw such lot of them in my life. I have had my musket stolen twice but have got it back again each time, & my [mess] cup has been taken over a dozen times, I should think, but I have always managed to get it back untill now, & now I cant find it." Louis, a member of Company B, fingered the "Company I boys" as "*the* thieves of the Regiment. One night when I was sleeping in the guardhouse, one of them stole a shoelace from my shoe & when they do that, they are prerty mean." As for his money, on 8 August Louis was able to account for having spent only about three of the ten dollars he had when he left New York. The rest "has been stolen from me & I could get no clue of the thieves."

These accounts of theft provoked waves of parental advice and admonition: "You must be very careful of your things, or they will all be stolen," his mother wrote. "Take good care of yourself *morally*— and *physically* . . . and keep as much out of the company of the rough scuffs, as you can." By his father, Louis was counseled: "Do not let the low morals of your associates affect you in the least. Be strong in your resolve to be a strait forward man—high toned in all your intercourse with every body with whom you come in contact." As for the theft of the money, Mr. LeClear was aghast: "What could have been your situation or condition that money could be taken from you & you not know the thief?" He added, however, "I take the liberty to enclose to you two dollars." In a postscript, he wrote "I send $5 instead of $2."

Louis did learn to be wary of theft and confronted a sergeant who had tampered with a letter from Mrs. LeClear before delivering it to Louis: "For I found out that he had tried to get at the contents of it before he gave it to me, under the impression that there was money in it. I gave him a piece of my mind about the matter and about two or three other things that he had acted meanly in, when he was going to strike me, and I took my musket in my hand and plainly told him that I would put the bayonet through him if he attempted to touch me; and that made him keep back a bit, for he could do nothing to me as long as I kept that in my hands."

Theft was not the only revelation to Louis in his indoctrination to army life; the fact that "there are some boys in the company who cannot write" was another. He was chosen by his illiterate comrades to be their scribe: "The other night one of them put a letter in my hands & wanted me to answer it. . . . It was from his sweetheart & I read the letter & then answered it without ever having known the

girl & dident tell me what he wanted to say & . . . he was delighted." On another occasion he wrote a love letter dictated by a comrade: "I tell you it was rich; I never enjoyed myself more. . . . He made it very sentimental after the Ledger style & then seemed to know that it was rather silly for he would make a sort of half excuse for it to me at every sentence."[5]

Louis's education and writing ability made him a natural candidate for company clerk, a duty he fulfilled occasionally but eschewed as a formal assignment. As he explained to his father, "I had intended going as Captain's Clerk, but I found upon inquiry that it was expected that I would clean his coat for him as well as keep the company books, & as I dident care to become a waiter, I let the Capt. know that I had rather go as private." Louis also could have gone in the Drum Corps, "but I thought that if I was strong enough to go as private it would be much more . . . honorable than as a drummer."

As an ordinary private, Louis's duties consisted largely of standing guard at key points on the railroad at Washington Junction at Relay, including, apparently, the Thomas Viaduct. On Sunday 31 July Louis found himself on picket duty with six comrades guarding a railroad bridge "that crosses over a very small creek, but here it is called a river, with a great long name on it that I cant remember." The duty this day was apparently not arduous: "We had just a fine time of it I can tell you for we only had two on at a time, & there were lots of blackberries around so that we could pick those, & then plenty of swimming in the river."[6]

With part of the 93rd Regiment posted to other parts of the state, guard duties fell more frequently to Louis's company, and he was soon griping, in good soldierly fashion, of being over-employed: "We have to be on [duty] two days & off [one day] . . . if we had a full Reg[iment] we would have one day on & ten off." Nevertheless, the "off" days seemed to offer further opportunities for swimming and blackberrying, as well as "scribbling . . . either for the Capt. or some letter for one of the boys."

From New York, Louis's father wrote, "Do you expect to meet the enemy down there in Merriland?" Louis replied from Relay House, "As for our having any fighting, I think it not at all likely that we shall see any unless the Johnnies come in as far as this." He then explained that with the regiment being scattered on various garrison assignments, his company was too depleted to be worth sending to any field area and that "if the other companies do not come back, we are booked for the rest of our time in this place."

The only "Johnnies" that Louis encountered are prisoners brought in from the western part of Maryland. On 8 August he wrote, "There are a couple of car loads of Rebs. right out side of the camp from Harpers Ferry. . . . I went out to see them about half an hour ago. They are pretty ragged & dirty but look as if they had all they wanted to eat with the exception of a dozen or so & I guess nothing could fatten them. They were long slabsided affairs with hair all streaming over their coat collars down their backs. They looked as though there was not such a thing as water in the U.S., for dirtier human beings I never saw."

Thus the first three weeks of August passed, with Louis reporting that "the duty comes pretty heavy on all of us, for every one of us are on [duty] five days out of the seven." This duty consisted largely of being "stationed at Washington Junc-

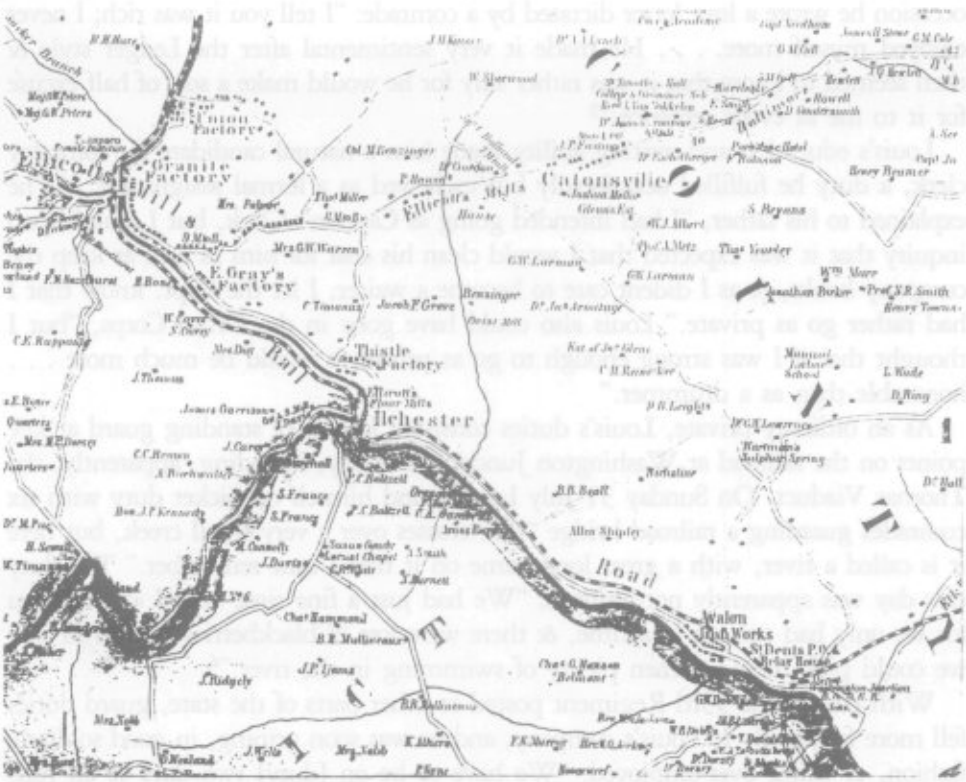

FIGURE 2. The B&O Railroad main line travels southward from Baltimore to Washington Junction (with its Relay House), lower right; thence, westward along the Patapsco River through Ellicotts Mills, upper left, on its way to Harpers Ferry. At Washington Junction, the Thomas Viaduct carries a branch of the railroad across the river to Elkridge and the federal capital. (*Martenet's Map of Howard County, Maryland,* 1860.)

tion" and "pickett at the railroad bridge." There was a Sunday morning inspection: "We had to pack our knapsacks and have them in good order, our tents all swept out and our rifles so clean that you would not soil a pair of white kid gloves in handling them."

The subject of food was never far from hand. The hardtack problem was mitigated by the proximity of Relay House to government resources: "We get very good Gov[ernment] bread here most every night fresh from Baltimore." Nevertheless, the hints for a "box" from home were quite broad, and Mrs. LeClear yielded: "I shall send you a box by Express containing paper and envelopes, cookies, a variety of crackers, some homemade bread, and a bottle of molasses. I hope it will taste good to you." Unfortunately, during transit "the molasses must have worked and forced out the cork" thereby ruining the writing paper.

The inclusion of writing paper in the food box was, of course, a subtle encouragement by Mrs. LeClear for Louis to write home often. She was more direct in her admonitions concerning his personal cleanliness: "Have you had your hair cut—take good care of your hair—use your fine comb. Have you had any washing done yet, or rather, have you done any yourself—dont wear those flannel shirts too long, without washing." Louis replied to these queries: "You ask how many times I have

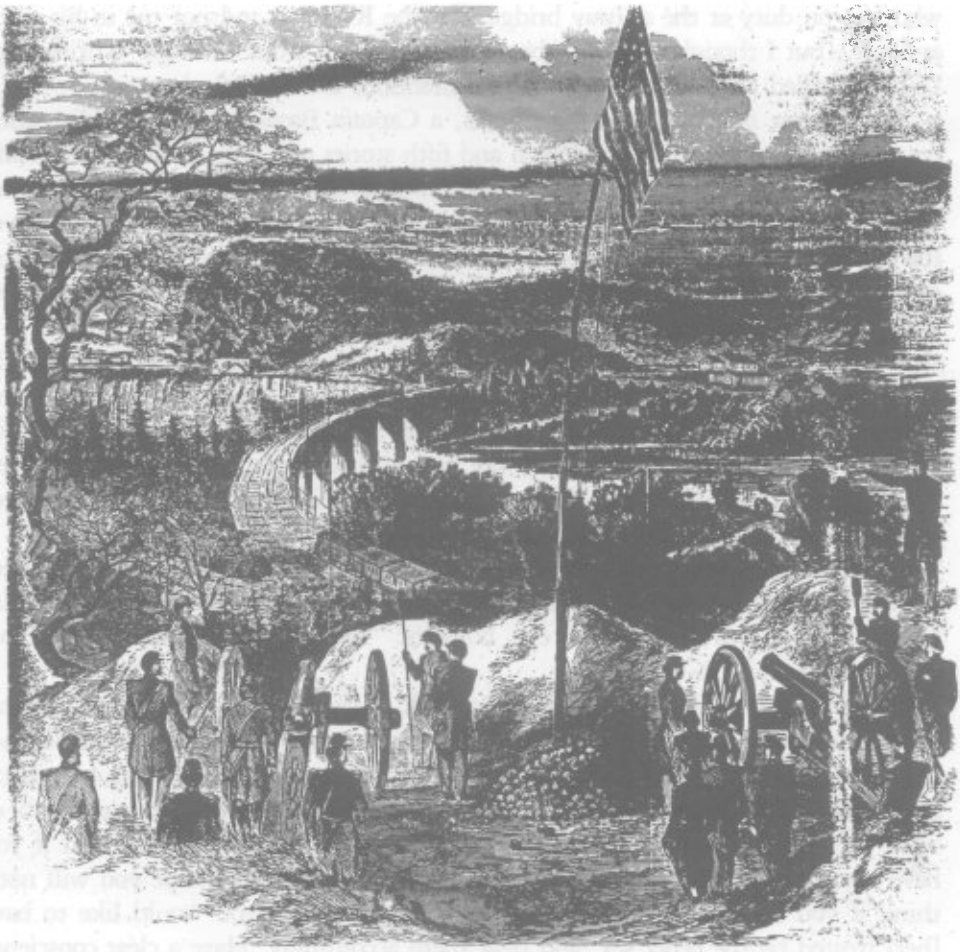

FIGURE 3. Federal battery at Elkridge Heights overlooking the Thomas Viaduct at Washington Junction. Relay House is in the right background. In the left background a train approaches from the direction of Ellicotts Mills. (*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* 25 May 1861.)

washed my clothes yet; I always wash them twice a week so that I have a clean shirt always in my knapsack. I am going to have a clean shave of my hair to day as it is impossible to keep it in order with the length I have now, so I am resolved on getting a regular fighting cut." Anticipating his mother's reaction to "a regular fighting cut," he hastily added, "It will have grown out though by the time I get home, so you will not have the benefit of it."

The garrison routine at Relay House encampment with its tours of tedious guard duty at Washington Junction became dull to Louis, and he longed to be a member of a twelve-man detail sent to Ellicotts Mills, "a point on the Rail-Road," to assist the provost marshal in that town. On 19 August that desire became a reality when "in the course of the day a Corporal came in to camp with one of the men from the Mills who did not suit the Sergt., and he sent word to the Orderly that he wanted me in his place." However, the lieutenant at Relay House preferred to send a sergeant (who was apparently a disciplinary problem) and retain Louis in the sergeant's place: "The Lieut did not want me to go but wanted to send a Sergt instead

who was on duty at the railway bridge near the R House and put me in his place as Sergt., but I thought I made a better private than I would a Sergt." Ultimately, Louis prevailed and, "After some little contention, I was allowed to go."

The provost marshal at Ellicotts Mills, a Captain Brown, and his soldier assistants occupied as quarters "the fourth and fifth stories of a large building originally intended for a Free Mason's Lodge."[7] The principal duty of Louis and his comrades was "to put a guard of one man at the door of a big room in the highest story of the house in which we are stationed to see that none of the prisoners we have there escape. They consist of Sesesh prisoners brought here to stay over night for want of transportation, of drafted men who overstaid there ten days and of deserters."

With twelve men to perform this duty, there was much free time, for "we only have about two hours out of the twenty four for duty." Indeed, duty at Ellicotts Mills was a vast improvement over the tent-life at Relay House encampment, "for we have plenty to eat, but little to do, and a good house to sleep in." Further, "Fruit is very cheap out here. You can get splendid big peaches here for thirty-five cents a peck and great big watermelons for twenty."

As for Ellicotts Mills itself, Louis found it "quite a good sized town though there none of that activity that is so marked in a village of our own state." One particular activity in the town did catch his eye, however: "There are cloth mills here and lots of girls who work in them."

This observation concerning girls who work in the mills evoked further parental advice from Mrs. LeClear who, in quaint Victorian style and phrase, counseled her son in the lofty manners and mores expected of him: "Do not from association allow yourself to become rough and uncouth—no matter who you are with or what you have to say, be the gentleman. Keep your principles good, and if you have any social intercourse with the girls in the mill, (which I hope you will not), think if you had a sister . . . in the same situation how you would like to have [her] treated by the other sex, and treat them accordingly. Have a clear conscience when you come home to your fond, and proud, parents."

Other activity noted by Louis was the turnpike that traversed the town: "They have a curious way of driving horses here. They have four to a wagon and only one rein for them all, and that is on the near leader who is so trained that by slapping the rein on his back he goes to the right, and by pulling on it goes to the left, and the others follow. I wish you could see the droves of mules that go by here. You can see sometimes two or three hundred and only one man for them all, and he is in advance of them on a gray mare with a bell on her neck. The drovers say that they frequently take them a hundred miles alone in that way and never lose one of them, for they will always follow the gray mare."

Every ten days government rations were drawn from the quartermaster at Relay House, ten miles away, for the twelve soldiers at Ellicotts Mills: "150 lbs salt beef,[8] 120 lbs hard tack, 20 qts beans." In addition, "We 'draw' a barrell of potatoes every week from a field about a mile from here." On another occasion, however, Louis more accurately described how they "draw" the potatoes: "Some of the boys went out foraging last night and brought in four haversacks of potatoes." Other foraging yielded additional supplements to their government rations: "We go up the railroad a mile or so and get all the fox grapes we want or up the turnpike after

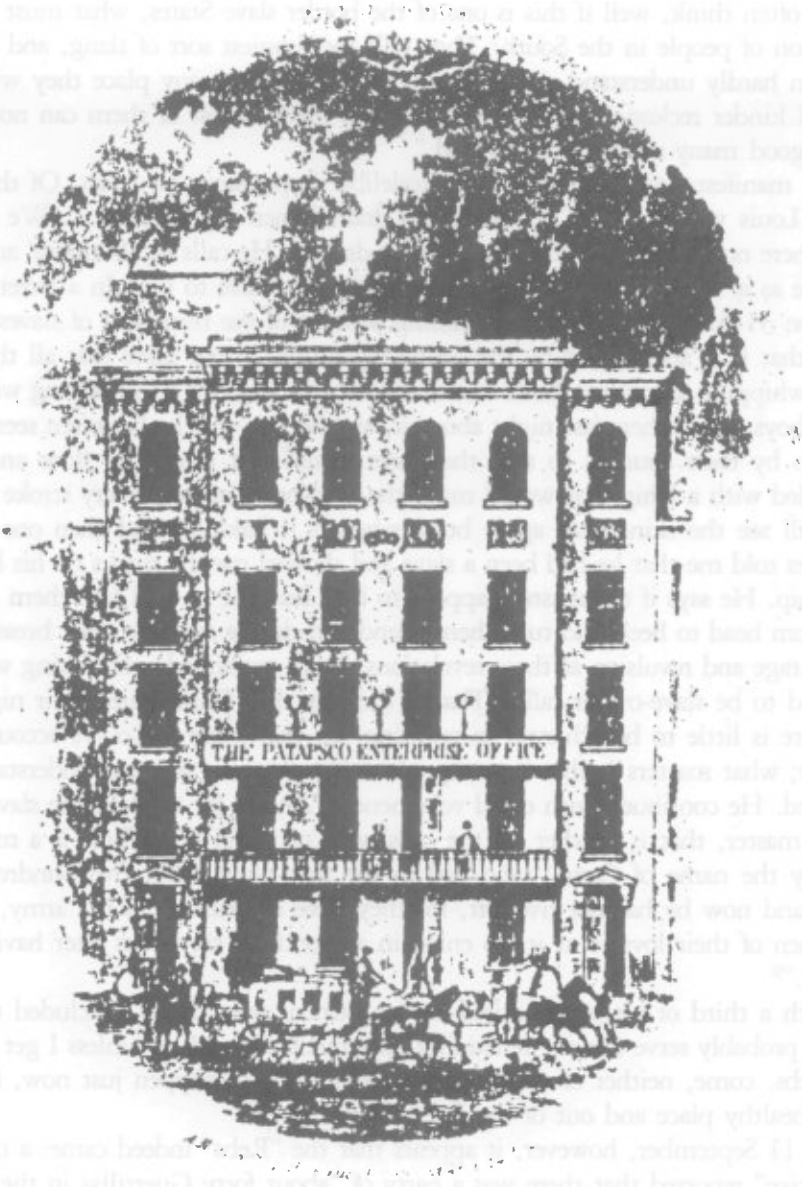

FIGURE 4. "New Town Hall" in Ellicotts Mills, probably the building used by federal forces for the provost marshal's office. (*Martenet's Map of Howard County, Maryland,* 1860.)

apples or peaches for the people out here are either very loyal or else are afraid of us, for all we have to do is say that we want such and such a thing and it is given. I rather think it is their patriotism, for they will give them to me when I am alone as quick as when there is a crowd along."

Louis's frequent contacts with the prisoners at the provost marshal's office made a strong, albeit possibly distorted, impression on him of the people of the region: "I wish you could see some of the prisoners that are brought in here every day. Some are deserters, some drafted men and a few Johnny Rebs. brought from up the [Shenandoah] Valley. There are some of the most curious specimens that ever you

saw. I often think, well if this is one of the border slave States, what must be the condition of people in the South? They talk the funniest sort of slang, and at first you can hardly understand them. If you ask them about any place they will say, 'wall, I kinder reckon it's a right smart sort o place.' Most of them can not write and a good many are not able to read."

The manifestations of slavery made indelible impressions on Louis. Of the prisoners, Louis wrote, "Some of the Negro drafted men are slaves. . . . We have a negro here now who has been a slave and is drafted. He calls us all 'massa' and is as humble as a whipped cur, as I suppose most slaves have to be." In a letter to his sister on 31 August, Louis gave a chilling account of the treatment of slaves: "You know that it is always said by the proslavery people in our State that all this talk about whipping slaves was 'bosh' but it is no such thing, for I was talking with one of the boys around here last night about it, and he says that he has often seen them tied up by their thumbs so that their toes would just touch the floor and then cowhided with a whip that would make the skin burst open at every stroke just as you will see the skin of an apple burst when it is baking. And then one of the Negroes told me that he had been a slave and showed me the marks on his back of the whip. He says if the master happens to be a bad one he will lash them in that way from head to heels and turn them round and do the same on their breasts." In his outrage and revulsion at these revelations, Louis exclaimed, mimicking what he believed to be slave-owner talk: "That is the way they Christianize their niggers!"

There is little to be achieved in pointing out that some of Louis's account was hearsay; what matters is that he accepted it all to be true and was understandably incensed. He continued with equal vehemence: "And as for the love the slave bears to his master, that is another of [the proslavery people's] lies. There is a man out here by the name of Carroll who had in the first place about five hundred men slaves and now he has not five left, for they have all enlisted in the army, a nice specimen of their love isent it, to enlist in a month or six weeks after having the chance."[9]

With a third of his one-hundred-day enlistment over, Louis concluded that he would probably serve out the remaining days in Ellicotts Mills "unless I get sick or the Rebs. come, neither of which things seem likely to happen just now, for this [is] a healthy place and out of the Rebs. way."

On 11 September, however, it appears that the "Rebs" indeed came: a military "detective" reported that there was a party of "about forty Guerrillas in the North Woods," about six miles up the Frederick Turnpike, "and that a great number of horses had been stolen on the day previous by them. We pressed a dozen horses into service, slung our muskets on our backs and gallopped up the turnpike to find them." The sergeant, meanwhile, was dispatched to Relay House to fetch the cavalry, for the guerrillas "were reported to be three or four to our one; so that valiant as we were, we could not expect to whip them with muskets alone when they were well armed with sabres and revolvers." Eventually, "after we had gallopped up to Carrolls woods, the Cavalry overtook us with a Captain to take command. He marched us into the woods and we hunted for them untill pretty near midnight when we returned to our quarters without finding any of them, though some dozen or so horses have been stolen from a few Union farmers up there."[10]

In a postwar re-telling of this episode, Louis revealed that the event was devoid of much of the bravado implicit in his letter and that the "gallop" up the turnpike, considering that some of the "horses" were in fact mules, was apparently more farcical than martial: "Some people talk about [soldiers] always being so anxious for a fight; it may be that they are, but I know that I was not in as jolly a state of mind as I might have been. However, I went to my room, put on my equipments, slung my musket over my shoulder and joined the rest in the street. After standing there a few moments we received the order to mount; we obeyed the order though not in the most regular manner, as part of the horses were baulky and the mules had no saddles. As quickly as we were settled in our seats, the command was given and we rode off amid the laughter of the bystanders; for as may be supposed, . . . we did not make a very fine show, as some were on horseback for the first time, and none were able to ride very well with a musket at their back."[11]

Having assessed Ellicotts Mills as "a healthy place and out of the Rebs. way," Louis was apparently proven wrong on both counts. His letter recounting the episode of Carroll's Woods was the last he wrote for a time. Mrs. McClear became worried and wrote, "You have of late given me much anxiety by not writing to me as heretofore, and . . . I cannot account for your delay. . . . Are you sick, or forgetful? If the former, I am very sorry, and wish you were at home, that I might take care of you, but if the latter, you are inexcusable. Write at once, my dear boy, to your Mother." Again, she wrote, "I am very, very anxious about you. . . . This is the fifth I have written and still we do not hear from you. If you are ill get some one to write for you, and I will come to my dear boy as fast as steam can carry me."

About a week later, Mrs. LeClear received a scrawled note from Louis saying that he was ill with fever. She prepared to go to him, but did not know where to go, or how to locate him.

On 1 October, she received a letter from Lieutenant Donahue of Company B, 93rd Regiment, who confirmed her worst fears: "Madame, I regret most sincerely that circumstances have of late occurred which compel me to communicate with you. Being an officer of the Company to which your son is attached I deem it my duty to notify you of anything concerning him likely to deeply interest you. . . . He is now sick in the hospital and quite anxious to see his mother. Of his disease and condition I cannot speak particularly." The lieutenant added, "Should you conclude to visit him it might be well for you to send me a note or a telegraphic despatch informing me of the train you intend to take so that I can meet you at the Station. I suppose you already know that we are encamped near the Relay House at which place you will stop."

Mrs. LeClear departed immediately, apparently taking a night train, and arrived at Relay House at 9:30 the next morning. She found Louis "in a very critical state" with typhoid fever. He was coughing hard, had been "delirious for days," and had been "continually moaning and talking." The doctor told her that Louis also had congestion of the lungs and that "if he gets well, it will be at least three or four weeks before he can be moved."

Mrs. LeClear was understandably appalled at the hospital conditions she found: "A cot bedstead, with the tick to the straw bed on which he lay as black as could well be with dirt, no sheets, nothing but his Army blanket over him, a red flannel

shirt and his pants and drawers on, for . . . as [ill] as he was, when the calls of Nature had to be attended to, they were obliged to take him out of doors, no matter what the weather. He did not look as if he had been washed since he had been sick."

She wasted no time in trying to rectify the situation: "I soon had my things off, and went to work over him, to make him look more comfortable and succeeded—though I had not much to [work] with." She bathed him a little, spread some cloths over his filthy pillow, and put a clean nightshirt on him. "I shall go out tomorrow and try and *hire* some sheets."

As for herself, Mrs. LeClear was willing to endure inconvenience: "I sat by [Louis] all day in the doctors room, on a wooden box—drank my tea from a huge tin dipper, and all things else on the same plan." She also allowed that "there are no accomodations here for Ladies, I can assure you, but that I care nothing for."

That evening, she prevailed upon "a farmer's wife to give me a room in her house" and had Louis transported there from the hospital: "Every thing that could be done by the officers and men was done. . . . They covered him, head and all, in blankets, laid him on a stretcher, and brought him to this farm house; then Capt. Adamson brought him up stairs in his arms as he would a baby, and laid him in bed."

The more restful setting of the farmhouse gave Mrs. LeClear encouragement, and by the next day she was cautiously optimistic: "I *think* Louis is better; the fever is apparently broken, though he is not himself much of the time. Still, I think I see a steady improvement, though others may not see it." More importantly: "The Doctor says the crisis has passed and that with good nursing, he may get up again."

Three days later she was able to write: "I think him decidedly better, and so does the doctor, who has but just now been here, although he by no means considers him out of danger."

The single-handed daily nursing routine for Mrs. LeClear was an arduous one: "About ½ after six in the morning, I go down and make fresh porridge of Farina for him, also prepare a glass of jelly water, and get him a mug of fresh water. I feed him before having my own breakfast, and then he will sleep while I eat, after which I feed him again, give him a powder, and a pill, and a little wine.[12] [I] then wash him well and make his bed, give him some grapes, about four, and some jelly water. [I] then take care of the room, stopping every other minute to brush the flies from him, so that it gets to be ten o'clock before I am ready to sit down, and even then, I must not stop, for the flies are a terrible nuisance. . . . Now he wants drink, now the perspiration wiped off, now the quilt turned back, now to be helped up. And so it is day and night, very little respite." She was not begrudging of her efforts, however, and added, "How much we have to be thankful for. He is getting better, and I think if I had not come, he would have been in his coffin by this time. Let us thank God, for his great mercies to us. I am still in good health . . . [and] as long as I can see him improving, no matter how slowly, I shall do well."

A week after Mrs. LeClear's arrival at Relay House, she was joined by her sister, and together the two women continued the task of nursing Louis back to health.

Within several days, Mrs. LeClear was able to write that Louis "can sit up ten minutes at a time—and looks like himself, only very thin. We get him up morning and evening, to have his bed made, and you can not [believe] how tired he gets." She declared, however, that "the dear boy is *now* out of danger."

The next ten days were spent in reporting on Louis's progress and in discussing arrangements for the eventual return home of the "two Ladies & the sick boy." Mr. LeClear inquired anxiously, "Can he be brought on the cars? Will it not be too

FIGURE 5. Louis Russell LeClear. Photograph taken 7 April 1866. (Howard County Historical Society.)

hard for him? I have thought that perhaps there was a Steam Boat running from Baltimore to New York; if so, would it not be better than the cars?"

Ultimately, Mrs. LeClear determined that they would be ready to travel on 22 October. "We shall start with him on the 8:40 train, [and] reach Jersey about half past four in the afternoon." She gave strict instructions to the family on how to receive the invalid: "He will be very tired; please have a feather bed on . . . sheets well aired—but at first, pillows on the sofa, for he will not be able to be taken up stairs [at] first. Your father will, I hope, meet us at the cars. . . .Tell him to be sure and not get nervous and fidgety before Lou . . . we must be as calm, and quiet as possible with him. . . . God willing, I shall soon be with you."

This is the end of the letters. We can only presume that on the afternoon of Saturday, 22 October 1864, Louis LeClear, accompanied by his mother and his aunt, arrived home in Stapleton, Staten Island, to a feather bed and a rejoicing family.[13]

NOTES

1. For background on the 1864 campaign, see Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (4 vols.; Chicago and Baltimore: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1925), 1:885–888; Harold R. Manakee, *Maryland in the Civil War* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1961), pp. 76–81.

2. This assessment of Louis LeClear and his family is based upon letters and other manuscript papers of the LeClear family currently in the manuscript collection of the Howard County Historical Society. The narrative that follows, except as noted, is based on those letters of the collection that were written by Louis LeClear and other family members during the period July–October, 1864. In the passages quoted, original spelling and punctuation have been retained except for several instances where modifications have been made in the interest of clarity. Some passages are quoted out of chronological order. For a complete discussion of Thomas LeClear, including his principal works, see Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., *Dictionary of American Biography* (10 vols.; New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1933), 6:87–88. See ibid., 1:95 (pt.2) for William H. Beard and his principal works.

3. Louis's use of the term "salt junk" may be to convey the same meaning as that of the archaic nautical term *junk:* hard salted beef supplied to ships.

4. Presumably Federal Hill.

5. "The Ledger style" apparently referred to the New York *Ledger,* a weekly literary journal.

6. Probably the Patapsco River.

7. The five-story structure Louis described undoubtedly was the building (still standing) initially known as "New Town Hall" and later as "The Opera House." As of 1860, it was intended to house the I.O.O.F., and Louis has probably confused this order with that of the Freemasons. (see Simon J. Martenet, *Martenet's Map of Howard County, Maryland* (Ellicotts Mills, Md.: John Schofield, 1860).

8. Louis may have intended to say "salt pork," for he described the meals as consisting of "plenty of good fried fat pork."

9. The Emancipation Proclamation, effective 1 January 1863, did not emancipate slaves in Maryland; this was accomplished by the state constitution that became effective 1

November 1864 (Charles Branch Clark, *Politics in Maryland During The Civil War* [Chestertown: n.p., 1952], pp. 192–195). In July 1863, federal recruiting officers began enlisting freed Negroes and, frequently, runaway slaves—a matter of great consternation to Maryland slave owners, whose slaves were fleeing in ever-increasing numbers. Unless Louis referred to this practice, his account of Mr. Carroll's slaves purportedly all enlisting makes no sense. For a thorough discussion of the complexities of enlisting slaves in Maryland, see Clark, *Politics in Maryland,* pp. 179–188.

10. Louis's next sentence in this account was ambiguous but intriguing: "And there was one family where the three men who belong to it joined them and are out in the woods with them now." *Them* could refer to the Union cavalry still searching in the woods or to the Confederate guerrillas. If the latter, it provided an interesting example of the secessionist sentiments of a number of Howard County families. The entire band of guerrillas may have been of local origin.

11. Louis R. LeClear, "Composition: Six Weeks on Provost Guard," undated (but ca. July 1865), LeClear Family Papers (T-Pa7), Howard County Historical Society.

12. Powder and pill were quinine and morphine.

13. Mrs. LeClear died just five years after these events, at the age of 47. Louis survived to marry twice; he died at age 73. His son Thomas relocated to the Cumberland, Maryland, area in about 1920. There Louis's grand-daughter, Virginia LeClear, married John Hanson Cresap Metz.

Belle Chance at Andrews Air Force Base: A Piece of Maryland's Past

WALTER L. KRAUS

Belle Chance, official residence of the commander of the Air Force's Systems Command and namesake of the patent on which Andrews Air Force Base now stands, is located on a small hillock overlooking the base, an area once covered with fields and meadows. The history of the house and surrounding base area is an interesting part of Maryland and of the United States. Andrews may have the most historic setting of any air force base in the country—tied to Melwood Plantation, Upper Marlboro, the Chance Patent, the Wood-yard, the Battle of Bladensburg, Benedict, the shelling of Fort McHenry, the burning of Washington, Dr. William Beanes, Bishop John Carroll, and Maryland Congressman Daniel Carroll.

The story of the estate originates in a land patent for The Chance which, as far as can be ascertained, was initially divided between 1689 and 1701 among Peter Burgess (1689), William Herbert (1697), Thomas Plunkett (1700) and Ninian Beal (1701). Beal received 132 acres, Plunkett 87, Herbert 200, and Burgess 100—for a total of 519 acres. Somewhat later The Chance became The Chance Encreased, but a count of the acreage is virtually impossible because many of the original patents were subdivided.[1] By 1713 Herbert called his tract Herbert's Chance and instead of 200 acres he held only 150.[2] In 1723 Clement Hill owned Chance which then consisted of 428 acres.[3] Later, various individuals held part of the patent, ranging from as little as five acres (Thomas Beal in 1761) to as many as 256.75 acres (Shadrich Beall in 1768).[4] In 1739 George Beall owned 100 acres and called his holding Beall's Chance.[5]

Planters, these men also were land, cotton, and tobacco speculators like one of their more prominent neighbors, Charles Carroll the Settler. The first Charles Carroll and at least one brother moved to Maryland in 1688. Charles served as a minor official in St. Mary's City; with passage of a law in 1689 disallowing Catholics to hold office, this young man channeled his energy to land speculation. At one time he held the Carroll Forest patent that abutted Chance and his brother held a patent that included Upper Marlboro. In two generations this energetic and prolific family produced a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Charles Carroll of Carrollton; a delegate to the Continental Congress and Constitutional Convention and a long-time Maryland congressman, Daniel Carroll of Upper Marlboro; and the first Roman Catholic bishop of North America, John Carroll, a brother of Daniel, from Upper Marlboro. At times parts of Chance may have been owned by both Carroll families, but land records remain vague on this matter. Probably John Darcy built

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the first house on the site of Belle Chance. The Darcy family burial plot, located on the grounds, can be traced as far back as 1770, when Darcy purchased "a part of the land called Chance" from John Clement. The 1738 federal direct-tax assessment of this parcel of land shows that Darcy owned "a dwelling house, 20′ × 16′; a kitchen, 16′ × 12′; a corn house, 12′ × 10′; a shop, 20′ × 12′; a meat house, 12′ × 10′; and a bark house, 12′ × 12′, for a total tax worth of $125.00."[6]

The Darcy family undoubtedly witnessed the excitement of 1814. In August of

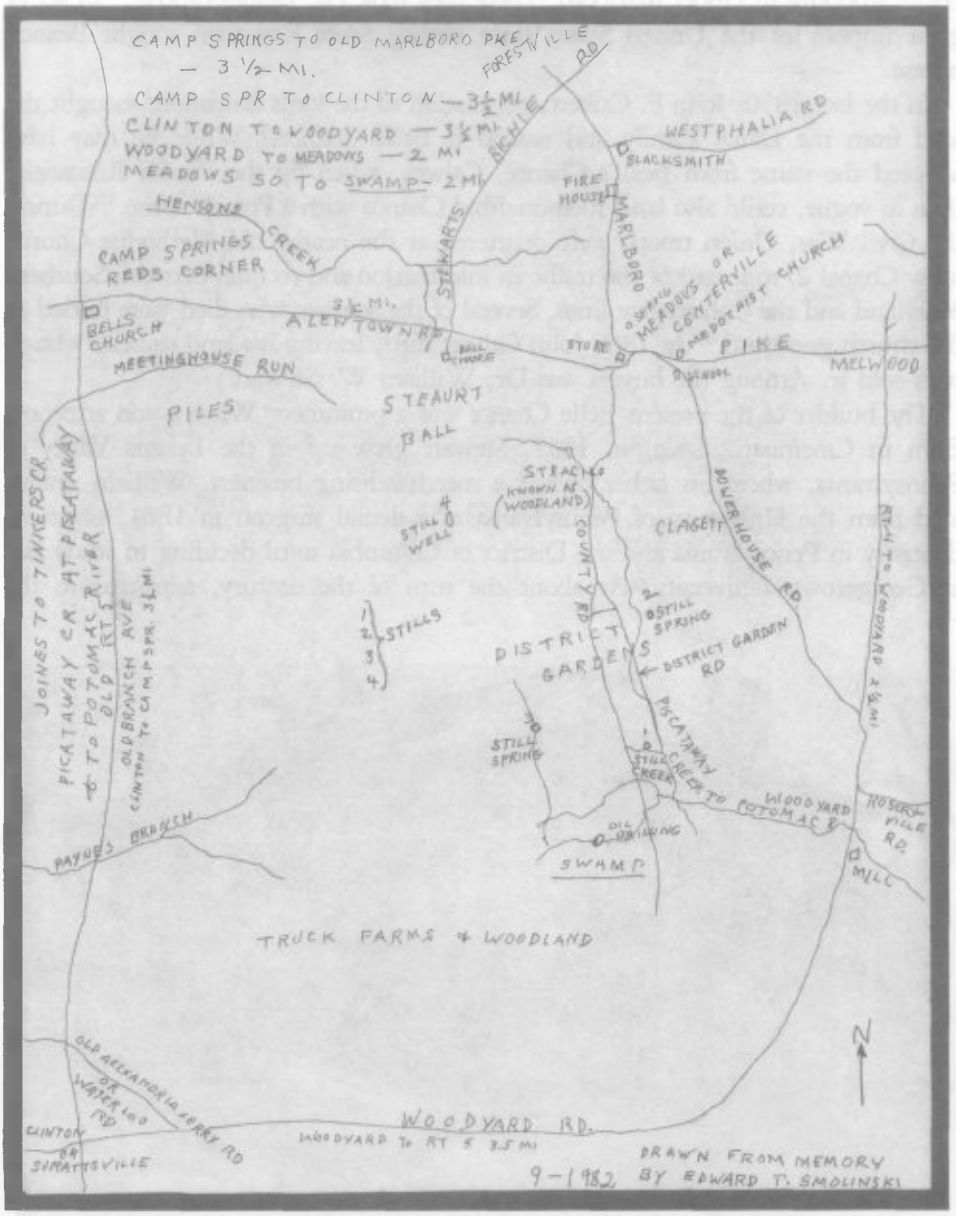


FIGURE 1. "Drawn from Memory, by Edward T. Smolinski." A native's view of the Camp Springs area in the early twentieth century. Belle Chance appears in the upper center; Smolinski recollected four stills in his old neighborhood. (Systems Command Historical Office.)

that year the American troops camped at Wood-yard, a village still located on Woodyard Road, just off the eastern side of the base. The British commander, Major General Robert Ross, stayed at the home of Dr. William Beanes while his forces camped around Upper Marlboro. When the British left for the town of Bladensburg, they spent the night at Melwood Plantation, which stood at the junction of Woodyard Road and the present Route 4, just off the northeast corner of the base.[7] After burning Washington, the British army returned to the fleet anchored at Benedict, St. Charles County, and again passed the Camp Springs area before stopping in Upper Marlboro. There they took Dr. Beanes captive,[8] an act of great import for the United States since Francis Scott Key soon sought Beanes' release.

In the late 1850s John F. Calvert, no relation to the lords Baltimore, bought the land from the Darcy Family and named it Belle Chance.[9] While he may have adopted the name from Beall's Chance, Calvert, taken by the French Romantics then in vogue, could also have memorialized Chance with a French name.[10] During the Civil War, Union troops were quartered at the nearby old Methodist Church (now Chapel 2) to intercept the traffic in information and recruits between Southern Maryland and the Confederate lines. Several of the soldiers who died were buried in the church graveyard.[11] In 1868 John Calvert died, leaving his land to heirs who in turn sold it. Among the buyers was Dr. William W. Stewart.

The builder of the present Belle Chance was a prominent Washington attorney. Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1857, Stewart grew up in the Lykens Valley of Pennsylvania, where his father owned a merchandising business. William graduated from the University of Pennsylvania as a dental surgeon in 1881, practiced dentistry in Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia until deciding to study law at Georgetown University. At about the turn of the century, admitted to the

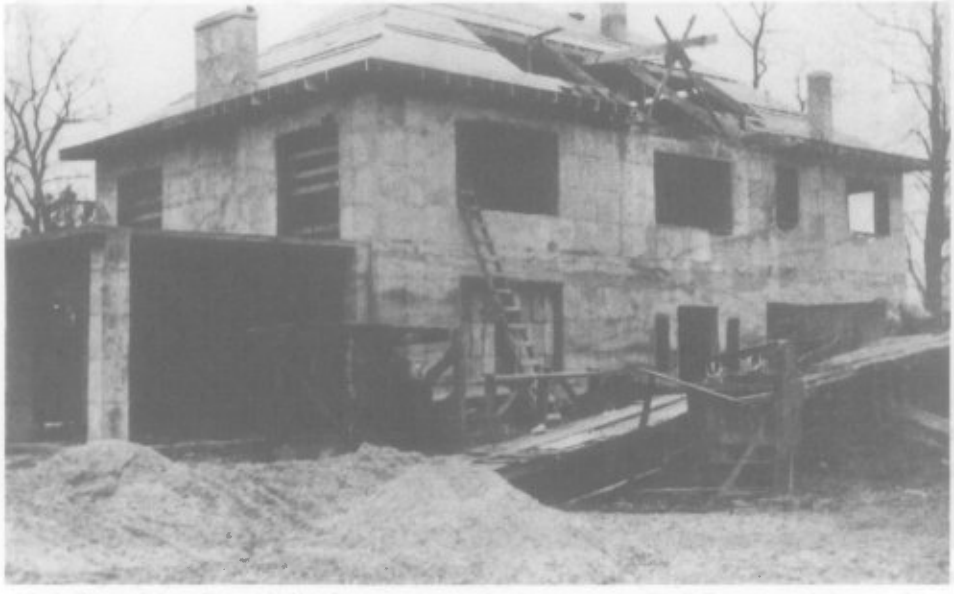


FIGURE 2. Belle Chance under construction, 1912. (Systems Command Historical Office.)

FIGURE 3. Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson and Lieutenant General Frank M. Andrews discussed Stimson's inspection tour of the Panama Canal Defenses in about 1940. (U.S. Air Force.)

District of Columbia bar, he practiced law and allowed his dentistry to dwindle. Stewart acquired sizeable real estate holdings, among them an office building he erected on the site of his old dental office. In 1902 he purchased about 800 acres of land in Prince George's County, between the towns of Camp Springs and Meadows (formerly known as Centerville). Part of the property obtained from the descendants of John Calvert, included the dwelling of Belle Chance—the name Stewart applied to his entire estate.

Interested in hunting and fishing, Stewart spent eight years trying to convince

his family to move to the country. By 1910 his wife had agreed and soon became very attached to the "country home." In 1913 the house burned in a forest fire, so Stewart build a cement home. According to his daughter, she, her mother, and the townspeople were somewhat skeptical about the soundness of his plan, yet once the home was built, it proved sound.[12] Over a period of years the doctor made many improvements, especially on the land. A map drawn by a former resident of Meadows (see figure 2) shows that some of the land was used for crops and tobacco, while most remained wooded.

In the early 1930s there were heated debates over the location of the proposed national airport. Stewart became interested in the question and offered Congress his land as a desirable site. Apparently several lawmakers took his suggestion seriously, but local residents and some congressmen were vehemently opposed and the idea was dropped.[13] President Franklin D. Roosevelt nonetheless showed a keen interest in the Camp Springs site and recommended it as Washington's future airport.[14] As late as 1940 Stewart presented site proposals to the federal government, asking a price of $311 per acre. On 26 August 1942 President Roosevelt directed Secretary of War Stimson to purchase 3,250 acres in the area for military purposes.[15]

The Stewarts and about 125 other families of Meadows, Reds Corner, Camp Springs, and Woodyard suddenly faced large personal loss and painful relocation. Newspapers chronicled their hardships. Landowners received just $250 an acre for condemned property. The army allowed only ninety days for residents to evacuate and rejected most appeals for more time to find new homes. The Stewarts were surprised that the military wanted not only tired tobacco fields and wood land but Belle Chance as well; the couple eventually resettled in the District of Columbia. Federal and local authorities aided the old and poor in relocating, but Mrs. Stewart lamented that it was "sad for negroes and for people who don't know where to go." Edward T. Smolinski, descendant of a New York cavalryman who after the Civil War worked for the government and made a home at Meadows, learned of the army's air-field plan one evening in 1942 when he came home from work. He remained bitter about the loss for many years—although he and many other Camp Springs natives served honorably in the war.[16]

By 1943 the base was fully operational as Camp Springs Army Air Field. On 31 March 1945 it was renamed Andrews Field in honor of Lieutenant General Frank M. Andrews, a promising officer who, when he died in an airplane accident in May 1943, commanded the European Theater of Operations, U.S. Army. During World War II Andrews Field operated as an air defense base for the Washington, D.C., area. Since then it has become the home of the presidential aircraft fleet and serves as the international diplomatic gateway to our nation's capital. Finally, it is home of the Air Force Systems Command, which provides the Air Force with technologically advanced systems for its myriad missions.

NOTES

1. Records of the Chance patent, Herbert, William, *Cert* Liber B #23, Folio 268, *Patent* Liber B #23, Folio 268; Burgess, Peter, *Cert* Liber 22, Folio 427, *Patent* W.D.,

Folio 18; Beal, Ninian, *Cert* Liber DD #5, Folio 38, *Patent* DD #5, Folio 38; Plunkett, Thomas, *Cert* Liber CC #4, Folio 155, *Patent* Liber IB and Il #6, Folio 341, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

2. Records of the Herbert's Chance Patent, *Cert* Liber DD #5, Folio 796, *Patent* DD #5, Folio 796, Liber RY #1, Folio 131, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

3. Records of Chance Patent owned by Clement Hill, *Cert,* Liber I.L. #A, Folio 59; *Patent,* Liber P.L. #5, Folio 427, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

4. Records of Chance Patent; Beal, John (1737) *Cert* Liber E.I. #5, Folio 289, *Patent* Liber E.I. #6, Folio 19; Beall, Shadrich (1768) *Cert.* Liber BC & GS #35, Folio 367, *Patent,* Liber BC & GS #35, Folio 300; Beal, Thomas (1761) *Cert* Liber CC & GS #19, Folio 15, Patent BC & CS #16, Folio 536, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

5. Records of Beall's Chance, owner Beall, George, *Cert* Liber L.G. #C, Folio 50, Patent E.T. #6, Folio 202, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.

6. Federal direct tax Records for 1798, John Dorsey [sic] P.M. 865, Prince George's County Court House Records, Upper Marlboro, Maryland.

7. Congressional Record, 13th Congress, 3rd session, No 137, *Capture of the City of Washington,* 29 November 1814, p. 5241 with addenda.

8. *A Subaltern in America: Comprising the Narrative of the Campaigns of the British Army at Baltimore, Washington, etc etc. During the Late War* (Philadelphia: E.L. Carey and A. Hart, 1833), pp. 33–77.

9. Wills, Deeds and Records, Prince George's County Court House.

10. Sci, e.g., Belle Meade, and Marie Stewart Labat to D.R. McVeigh, Deputy Command Historian, Air Force Systems Command, Andrews AFB, 9 February 1962.

11. *Centennial Celebration 1854–1954, Forest Grove Methodist Church and Andrews AFB Chapel, Andrews AFB, D.C., 13 June 1954,* p. 12.

12. Labat to McVeigh, 9 February 1962.

13. "Washington Airport Controversy," *Washington Post,* 18 July 1937, B 2; "Truth About the Airport," *Washington Times,* 28 July 1938, p. 1; Harold E. Hartney, technical advisor, Subcommittee on Aircraft Investigation, to William W. Stewart, 6 March 1936, Systems Command Historical Office Files (SCHOF).

14. Roosevelt to Frederic A. Delano, 6 April 1938, SCHOF.

15. Site Proposals for U.S. Government, William W. Stewart, 23 February 1940, and Roosevelt to Stimson, 26 August 1942, ibid.

16. Stewart to Marie Stewart Labat, 7 September 1942, and Mrs. William W. Stewart to Marie Stewart Labat, 8 September 1942, ibid.; "Marylanders Facing Eviction for Airport Bow to Army Needs," *Washington Star,* 3 May 1943; author's interview of Edward T. Smolinski 18 August 1982.

Book Reviews

Directory of Maryland Church Records. Compiled by Edna A. Kanely. (Silver Spring, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1987. Pp. xii, 195. $11.00.)

The Genealogical Council of Maryland is an umbrella organization made up of representatives of various state and local genealogical societies. Five years ago it decided to compile an inventory of the extant Maryland church records, and Edna A. Kanely volunteered to spearhead the project. Consulting the archives and repositories of various denominations, Ms. Kanely compiled a master list of churches and their current addresses in the state. The next step was to enlist the help of individual local genealogical societies, who took on the responsibility of contacting individual churches and asking them to fill out a survey form that asked for the date of the church's founding; the dates covered by the various types of records (birth or baptism, marriage, and death or funeral); and the location of the records.

Having gathered all the information on a series of worksheets, which now fill almost a dozen looseleaf binders at the Maryland Historical Society, Ms. Kanely reduced all the information to concise entries arranged alphabetically by churches' names within each county (Baltimore City and Baltimore County are combined in one listing). She notes the location of original records and the places where copies of the records may be found. To increase the usefulness of the work, Ms. Kanely in the second part of the book lists the names and addresses of churches in existence today, first by denomination and then by county. She plans a second volume to cover those churches making late returns.

This book will prove to be one of the most helpful guides to the location of primary source materials to be published for some time. It is an essential tool for all genealogists.

ROBERT W. BARNES
Perry Hall

The Poe Log: A Documentary Life of Edgar Allan Poe. Edited by Dwight Thomas and David K. Jackson. (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1987. Pp. 969. Illustrations. $80.00.)

The Poe Log pushes Poe studies a long mile ahead. Its co-editors deserve praise for compiling and ascertaining facts about the American writer they call the best known and most widely read. Unfortunately for Poe readers, his being the best known has not led to accurate, full biographies. Quite the contrary; myth and speculation have too often substituted. This thick volume follows Poe day by day, fact by fact. Its chronology of events offers only verified contemporary evidence. As if that weren't valuable enough, the *Log* pulls everything known into just one place. It thus continues a fine tradition represented by the late Jay Leyda's *Melville Log* and *The Years and Hours of Emily Dickinson*.

Like those compilations, this one dispels falsehoods. For instance, there is no evidence of Poe's being addicted to drugs. On the other hand, the documentary approach substantiates what students of Poe had earlier realized—that he was hardworking and prolific, that he was a great originator, and that his genius was well recognized and, yes, celebrated in his own time.

Anyone aware of Poe's genius will like this documentary life—unbiased as it is, and uncluttered by interpretation. Here Poe emerges with a sort of epic grandeur. Certainly an epic quality runs through Poe's troubles—his agonies as foster son, his battles with pretentious writers and with booze, his days of being, as he himself said, "ground into the

very dust with poverty" (p. 657). General readers will also discern the poet's grandeur through contemporary reviews of Poe's works and quotations from letters by, to, and about him. Just his own letters reveal a true genius. And taken with other people's letters to him, they show what a towering place he deserved and, to some extent, held in Jacksonian America.

True, reading the *Log* about Poe's first literary phase may annoy because of scarce information. Not much of the apprentice years is on the record. Suddenly in October 1833 fame burst upon him when he won a prize in Baltimore. From then on, documentary evidence multiplies, explaining why almost half this book covers just the New York City period, 1845–1849. Compare the thickness of those 483 pages with the scant fifty-seven pages for his prolific Baltimore era, 1830–1835. The *Log* records a Poe leaving Maryland a near non-entity at age 26 and within two years offering a toast at a New York dinner for such American cultural giants as William Cullen Bryant, Washington Irving, Albert Gallatin, Colonel John Trumbull, and James K. Paulding.

Portraits of some of those giants illustrate the *Log,* it would seem, chiefly for the edification of general readers. Of seventy illustrations, eight are daguerreotypes of Poe. Most of the others portray family and literary associates, including the literary executor who so blackened Poe's reputation, Rufus W. Griswold. Although those illustrations add color, they are generally inferior to the text. That may be because finding and choosing just the right images combines sleuthing, taste, and time to an unusual degree.

As an example of choices, the editors picture Poe's residences in three cities and print a fashion plate from *Graham's Magazine* but leave out the Poe-Clemm house on Amity Street, Baltimore. Missing also are photographs of Poe's tomb and his original burial site in Westminster Cemetery, Baltimore. There is an often-printed, romantic view of Baltimore from Federal Hill (it is one of several illustrations lacking a source: this one was painted and engraved by W. J. Bennett, published in 1831 in New York, and is in the Maryland Historical Society's collection, among others). But an image more revealing of the Baltimore Poe knew would be one of Alfred Jacob Miller's street sketches or a bird's-eye view of sections of town Poe frequented.

Now, general readers will not race straight through the 854 pages and the thirty-four pages of biographical notes on people important to Poe. Instead they should consult the forty-two-page index for topics of interest. Take Poe's drinking, for example. There in the index under *Alcoholism* they will find more than three columns of listings. In one of those items, a Poe relative early warned him that a weakness for alcohol ran in the family (p. 415). Another observer called Poe "a splendid fellow but 'unstable as water' " (p. 367).

Besides satisfying general readers, the *Log* will serve well in academia: scholars, students writing college papers, even what once was called a "Poe Cult." And future biographers are doubtless already at the starting gate. That's good because we need new biographies now that the verifiable facts are out. As Jay Leyda told a future biographer of Emily Dickinson: "I collect the facts [in *The Years and Hours of Emily Dickinson*]. It's up to you people to make something of them" (William Zinsser, ed. *Extraordinary Lives* [New York: American Heritage, 1987], p. 69). Earlier biographers of Poe, of course, had made something of the facts that they knew. Unfortunately, two of the most sensible chroniclers wrote a generation and more ago—Arthur Hobson Quinn in 1941 and Edward Wagenknecht in 1963.

It is therefore gratifying to have this up-to-date chronicle from the editors' long years of research. As long ago as the 1930s, David K. Jackson was publishing articles about Poe. Among other pieces, his co-editor, Dwight Thomas, has written a dissertation about Poe's stay in Philadelphia. The two men divided the labor: Jackson took 1809–1837, and Thomas the rest. Their joining together turned out splendidly. Source notes alone provide

riches galore. In them the editors cite both public and private collections for a range from letters to newspapers to legal documents. Other editorial notes provide short connections at the head of each of the eleven divisions. Those paragraphs simply list major events, including Poe's publications. Additional editorial comments appear only when an item requires explanation. Generally, those notes refrain from judgment, although several people are labeled "eccentric"; other men and women seem equally deserving of that epithet. Scholars will also thank the editors for numerous cross references in the text.

As editors, Jackson and Thomas had to make thousands of decisions about what was fact and what was merely myth. They include, for instance, very recent discoveries such as Poe's list of proposed subscribers and contributors to his dream magazine. Alexander G. Rose III and Jeffrey Alan Savoye unearthed the list in the Poe Collection of the Enoch Pratt Free Library; the Pratt, the Library of the University of Baltimore, and the Edgar Allan Poe Society of Baltimore published it in 1986.

Other editorial choices may puzzle Poe scholars. Jackson and Thomas apparently accept as fact only part of Dr. R. D'Unger's letter about Poe's visits to Baltimore between 1847 and 1849 (in the *Log* the spelling is *De Unger,* although the manuscript at the University of Virginia is signed *D'Unger* and that spelling persisted as a family name in Baltimore). The question the editors faced was how much to trust the memory of a man writing in 1899 of events fifty years old. On the manuscript someone scrawled, "A pack of lies with perhaps some grains of truth." Opinions of Poe scholars differ: Arthur Hobson Quinn pretty much rejected the letter; Thomas Ollive Mabbott accepted it.

If the *Log*'s editors had quoted more than just D'Unger's meeting Poe, readers would have gained a unique picture of Poe during later visits to Baltimore. For example, "He was a chronic grumbler at his want of 'luck,' and was eternally finding fault with the people who bought his writings, always claiming that a man could make more money carrying a hod than he could with his pen. He frequently asserted that such men as Dr. Johnson, author of 'Rasselas,' Oliver Goldsmith and himself never should have been born, because the world didn't or wouldn't understand them." (p. 3 of ms.)

The editors proceed with care through Poe's enigmatic life. They always use the word "perhaps" when they have any doubt. "Perhaps" Poe worked for William Gwynn, editor of the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Advertiser* (p. 93). "Perhaps" Poe was a kiln worker in early fall, 1832 (p. 127). "Perhaps" Colonel Sylvanus Thayer, Captain Ethan Allan Hitchcock, and West Point treasurer Thomas J. Leslie contributed to a fund to publish Poe's *Poems* (April? 1831). The editors checked with the Map and Manuscripts Librarian of the West Point Library, who disagreed with an answer given in 1972 (ie., Thayer et al.) and said, "Any one of the instructors, professors or staff may have added the amount or it may have been a clerical error" (p. 117). Jackson and Thomas are that careful in checking facts.

In another case, these editors seem to stumble. They make a point of changing the date for the marriage of William Clemm to Miss Maria Poe (Poe's aunt and later protectress-cum-mother-in-law). It is different from the one given in Quinn's standard biography. For the change they cite an unidentified newspaper report from "Clipping in a book of memorabilia possessed by Mrs. D. Skinner, Jr., Princeton, N.J." (p. 33). If the editors had consulted the Dielman-Hayward Files in the Maryland Historical Society, they would have found two Baltimore newspaper reports, one with Quinn's date, one with Skinner's: the *Baltimore American* gives 19 July 1817; the *Federal Gazette* for Friday, 18 July, states that on Sunday, 13 July 1817, William Clemm was married to Miss Maria Poe by the Rev. Mr. Wyatt and lists the source as St. Paul's Register. So the truth depends on which newspaper you read.

Scholars reading this *Log* will, of course, follow special interests. A smaller group, even more specialized, will probably come from readers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

With an interest in the Tidewater, they will want to examine Poe's Baltimore connection. Although that link is carefully documented, even such diligent researchers as Thomas and Jackson cannot add much information. In fact, readers examining just Poe's tie with Maryland will discover a weak point of any documentary life: it prints only dates, events noted in contemporary accounts, and commentaries of the time. No editorial hand connects fact A with fact B and draws a conclusion.

For example, a standard biographer could conceivably discover here a pattern of Poe's finding a haven in Baltimore all his life. He found a haven first in the home of his grandparents David and Elizabeth Poe on Camden Street. They took him in at six weeks of age for a six-month stay when his parents were on stage in Boston and New York. Then at 17—and at odds with his foster father in Richmond—he returned to Baltimore and discovered a true family with his father's sister, Maria Poe Clemm. After living most of the next seven years with her, he took out a license in Baltimore to marry her daughter Virginia, then just 13 years old.

Living with Maria and Virginia, Poe found himself as a writer and in Baltimore really settled down to a career of writing. Soon he was turning out brilliant stories. He proposed publishing them as products of a fictional Folio Club modeled on Baltimore's Delphian Club. Though not printed then in a book, the stories were published in magazines. One of them won Poe's first public notice when *The Baltimore Saturday Visitor* awarded him a $50 prize for "Ms. Found in a Bottle." With that prize came a bonus, a patron—a prominent Baltimore lawyer and novelist John Pendleton Kennedy, who had judged the *Visitor* contest. Soon afterwards Poe said Kennedy had saved him from suicide. Sixteen years later Poe again found haven in Baltimore, when he died and was buried there alongside his brother and grandparents Poe.

Two days after Poe's burial, Kennedy wrote in his journal:

> He [Poe] fell in with some companion here who seduced him to the bottle, which it was said he had renounced some time ago. The consequence was fever, delirium, and madness, and in a few days a termination of his sad career in the hospital. Poor Poe! He was an original and exquisite poet, and one of the best prose writers in this country. His works are amongst the very best of their kind. His taste was replete with classical flavor, and he wrote in the spirit of an old Greek philospher (p. 852).

Those words appear at the end of this very fine compendium. Clearly the *Log* joins a core collection of books about Poe's life. It should be well appreciated by all readers of Poe's works.

F. R. Shivers, Jr.
Baltimore, Maryland

A Century of "Separate But Equal" Education in Anne Arundel County. By Philip L. Brown. (New York: Vantage Press, 1987. Pp. xii, 258. Appendix, bibliography, index. $14.95.)

If a reader is familiar with a locale, reading about its history can be exciting and rewarding. Educational history that has a local setting often makes the exercise personal, especially if the reader is an educator. With publication of *A Century of "Separate But Equal" Education in Anne Arundel County,* retired educator Philip L. Brown touches both of these areas—local history and educational history. Brown's experience in Anne Arundel County spanned forty-nine years (thirty-eight as an educator and eleven as a student); his book, which delves into an important aspect of black educational development and heritage, reads more like an oral history, a personal memoir, or an autobiography than a stodgy work on local history.

In the preface, Brown states that he tried not to allow his "personal feelings to enter into the telling" of his story. If finally his feelings do exhibit themselves, it paradoxically is both fortunate and unfortunate for the reader. One difficulty confronting Clio's practitioners is capturing the atmosphere of the times being studied. In Brown's study, for example, readers may want to know what it was like to be a black going to school or teaching in Anne Arundel County in the 1880s, the 1920s, and the 1950s. A maker of history himself, Brown allows his emotions and feelings to come through the words as he surveys the search for equal rights by "Negros, coloreds, Afro-Americans, and blacks" from 1866 to 1966. Noting that this story could be duplicated in almost any school district throughout the South, he examines the impact of two leading Supreme Court cases—*Plessy* v. *Ferguson* (1896) and *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954)—on black education in the Anne Arundel County public school system. Because Brown allows his feelings to drift into the narrative, the reader is treated to a personal view of the black struggle for identity and fair treatment.

Unfortunately, like too many local histories, Brown's work is uneven in presentation. In an eight-page introductory chapter Brown quickly glances over the development of black schools in Maryland between the Civil War and the *Plessy* decision legalizing "separate but equal" schools. Several key primary sources, notably, the Maryland State Board of Education annual reports (which he cites in his bibliography), the minutes of the Anne Arundel County Board of Education, Freedmen's Bureau records, and federal census materials would have given Brown much interesting information. He might also have considered questions such as why white female teachers lived with black families in southern Anne Arundel County in the 1880s; what impact the Freedmen's Bureau schools had on black education in Maryland after the Civil War; and what effect debates at school-board meetings may have had on spending for black schools in the county prior to the *Plessy* case. A closer look at some secondary materials, such as John Hope Franklin's *From Slavery to Freedom* or Henry Bullock's *A History of Negro Education in the South,* would have helped to give context to this account of the postwar period.

The real focus and theme of Brown's book lies in the phrase "separate but equal"—in examining the world of black education between 1896 and 1954. Brown recounts many of the educational obstacles that blacks encountered before the 1930s—long travel to school, lack of teaching materials and resources, and racism; he explores unequal black-white teacher-training opportunities and teacher salaries. Yet Brown only scratches the surface of conditions before the 1930s and makes generalizations without the necessary comparisons, interpretations, and conclusions. He expects readers to draw conclusions based at times on one-sentence, underdeveloped paragraphs; he never places his story in perspective and misses much of the importance of black-white relations from 1900 to 1930. Brown's strength lies in his personal, "you-are-there" narrative that offers excellent chapters on Wiley Bates (the well-known black educator, namesake of a black high school in Annapolis), the life and times of a Negro teacher in the 1930s, the consolidation of black schools, and the experience of desegregation. Brown fills his story with rich, "we shall overcome" imagery. He details the operation of black schools, writing of school-prayer time, of patriotic songs, and even of how parents and students took part in cleaning the school and cutting the grass. His folklore approach works well in describing the difficulties black teachers had as they commuted to Philadelphia and New York on weekends in order to obtain the graduate training that Maryland colleges denied them. Such stories evoke empathy as the reader attempts to understand segregated Maryland society.

Brown notes that perhaps no single change to the county school system did as much for black education as school consolidation and bus transportation. His chapter on consolidation explains how family networks overcame segregation by boarding children with those

relatives who lived in the most advantageous school jurisdictions. Brown occasionally deviates from the local scene, discussing, for example, the role of Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP in equalizing salaries for black teachers in Montgomery and Calvert counties. Brown's background on the Supreme Court desegregation rulings that led to the *Brown* decision is insightful. Connecting cases such as those of Murray in Maryland, Gaines in Missouri, McLaurin in Oklahoma, and Briggs in South Carolina with local movements like the West River Proclamation offers new perspective on the civil rights movement. Brown's valuable appendix contains legal documents and educational records related to the black experience in Maryland.

Despite a paucity of footnotes and some poor reproductions, Brown's book merits praise because it lays down a challenge to other local historians, especially educational historians, to expand on some of its findings. Philip L. Brown has given us food for thought on this important topic, enabling us better to understand the "separate but equal" educational system that for a century existed not only in Anne Arundel County but also in much of America. For his efforts, Brown should be commended.

JAMES F. ADOMANIS
Anne Arundel County Public Schools

Disease and Discovery: A History of the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health, 1916–1939. By Elizabeth Fee. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987. Pp. vii, 286. Illustrations, notes, index. $35.00.)

The bacteriological revolution of the late nineteenth century not only provided effective therapies and vaccines against some infectious diseases but also inspired optimism that disease might be prevented so effectively as to render therapeutic medical intervention unnecessary. To this end, leaders of scientific medicine in the United States sought to establish schools for training public health workers in the art and science of preventive medicine. Elizabeth Fee has chronicled the history of the first independent, institutional embodiment of this ideal, the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health, from its inception in 1916 to the end of its first period at the beginning of World War II.

Unlike medicine, with its focus on diagnosis and therapy, public health was not—and still is not—so clearly defined an entity. Its first triumph emerged in water and sewerage programs that blocked the transmission of infectious diseases such as cholera and typhoid fever. Improved nutrition, adequate housing, preventive examinations, and prenatal and child-care instruction were all viewed as under its purview, suggesting that groups as diverse as engineers, nurses, economists, epidemiologists, and social workers might play a role in public health organization. As Fee argues, however, such administrative models of public health organization often clashed with the assertion of physicians that they alone were qualified to manage programs relating to health and disease. Many physicians resented the potential loss of income represented by an active public health program and sometimes regarded it as the first step toward socialized medicine. Since their status was rising with each new bacteriological discovery, moreover, physicians were usually more successful in achieving their aims than were the nascent administrative public health programs, which were usually under-funded and often subject to political control.

In 1914 Wickliffe Rose, architect of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission's campaign against hookworm in the southern United States, became convinced that trained public health officers were essential to improving American health. Proposed organizational schemes to utilize a portion of Rockefeller largess for this purpose ranged from a series of short courses in many universities—most valuable to local health officers—to a series of schools for the training of public health administrators, to a single research-oriented program for the training of national public health leaders. In the end, the research model,

championed by William Henry Welch of the Johns Hopkins University Medical School, was adopted as the guiding principle of the new school. Unabashedly elitist, the school aimed to produce laboratory-trained public health physicians and scientists on the premise that the results of their research would trickle down to improve local health agencies. Welch thus wanted the institution designated an institute of hygiene, underscoring that it was modeled on the German research institutes he admired. Eventually, however, he bowed in part to the suggestion that it be known as a school of public health. This compromise produced the new institution's unwieldy name.

During the school's first six years of operation, as Fee shows, an accommodation was reached between Welch's research ideals and the Rockefeller Foundation's desire that more practical training be included. Although a number of students enrolled with scientific backgrounds, relatively few physicians seemed interested in foregoing a lucrative private practice for public health work. In contrast, the school found itself inundated with applications from local and foreign health officers who could afford to take only one or two courses. Minor adjustments were made to meet this demand, but the school steadfastly maintained its emphasis on educating public health leaders, not rank and file personnel.

In two chapters Fee sketches the evolution of the school's curriculum. Major departments were organized around the research interests of the men chosen to be professors, and Hopkins was able to attract many notable investigators, including William H. Howell, Robert Hegner, William Cort, Frances Root, Elmer V. McCollum, Wade Hampton Frost, Raymond Pearl, Lowell Reed, Allen Freeman, and Abel Wolman. Fee divides their fields into two broad categories, pathological studies of disease agents and studies of factors affecting human physiology. The former encompassed the fields of bacteriology, immunology, the filterable viruses, and medical zoology—the last being an exceptionally productive field. Physiological studies were subdivided into several major lines of research. In the area of physiological hygiene, courses were offered in occupational health, the effects of radiation, and environmental factors. Chemical hygiene focused primarily on nutritional studies, and epidemiology flourished in collaboration with statistical studies. The more practical fields of public health—sanitary engineering and public health administration—although minimized in Welch's scheme, proved to be popular with students and contributed to the school's growth.

Applied public health gained new emphasis, Fee observes, during the economic constraints of the 1930s. Especially important was the creation of a model health district in east Baltimore City, where public health training and research studies were directed by the Hopkins faculty. Data were accumulated for studies on the incidence and distribution of tuberculosis, diphtheria, chronic diseases, and mental illnesses—detailed information available only because at that time there was "little concern about the individual's right to privacy or the confidentiality of information" (p. 199). In the field of child health, the school sponsored prenatal and well-baby clinics, free smallpox vaccinations, and medical, dental, and eye examinations. Some faculty members also cooperated in the creation of a birth control clinic, although direct sponsorship by the school was considered too controversial.

By the time Fee's account ends, the "Hopkins model" that emphasized research was firmly entrenched as an ideal to which other schools of public health would aspire. As a consequence, ancillary groups such as public health nurses and sanitary engineers generally received training in other institutions, thus perpetuating rather than reconciling professional differences among these groups. Even with its emphasis on training physicians, moreover, the school could not overcome the gulf that separated the therapeutic, fee-for-service structure of the American medical community from the preventive, bureaucratic organizational pattern of public health.

A broad overview based largely on archival collections at Hopkins and in the Rockefeller Archive Center and illustrated with many interesting photographs, Fee's account introduces many important topics without any attempt to develop them more fully. As a member of the Department of Health Policy and Management at Hopkins, she aimed to provide students with "a medium for critical reflection on their own work and purposes of study" (p. xi), and in this goal she has succeeded. Perhaps some of her students will also be motivated to extend and deepen her research.

VICTORIA A. HARDEN
National Institutes of Health

The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family, and Education. Edited by Walter J. Faser, Jr., R. Frank Saunders, Jr., and Jon L. Wakelyn. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985. Pp. v. 257. Notes, index. $25.00.)

This is a difficult book to review because space restrictions preclude describing in detail the new insights gained from reading this first-rate collection of essays. Moving chronologically from the colonial period to the Depression, this book provides new information and interpretations on women, family, and education, further demonstrating the vitality of regional social history. Sections dividing the essays by topic would have been helpful, since only a few of the works in this book discuss all three themes. For the most part, each essay explores one of the topics, resulting in an eclectic collection. A few of the essays attempt to cover too much material, causing them to become choppy and superficial in places.

The book begins with the status of women in antebellum America. While Catherine Clinton's discussion on interracial sex between slave women and planters offers little new analysis, Theda Perdue develops an innovative approach to the familiar theme of women's "proper place." She explores how nineteenth-century ideas of gender changed the community status of native American women, particularly Cherokee women. Carol Bleser questions the existence of strict gender spheres in the nineteenth century, as she examines the marriage of Elizabeth and Benjamin Perry of Greenville, South Carolina. Benjamin Perry took a lively interest in family matters, and Elizabeth constantly advised her husband on his career and argued with him about politics. Barbara Bellows's work on the interaction between poor women and elites in Charleston, South Carolina, modifies the same theme by pointing out the differing attitudes between male and female aid societies. Women's societies, much more than men's, wanted poor women to become more independent from men.

Exploring the too-often ignored world of men's personal lives and their struggles toward manhood, Jon L. Wakelyn chronicles the conflict felt by young men in school between wanting autonomy and maintaining family loyalty. He successfully applies to men questions about personal identity often asked in women's history. Orville Vernon Burton, in his examination of education, wealth, and position among black and white men in Edgefield, South Carolina, during Reconstruction, encourages readers to think in new ways about the impact of the Civil War on young men.

Essays on education include the work of Bertram Wyatt-Brown and Joseph Kett. Analyzing attitudes of ex-slaves toward education and the process of learning, Wyatt-Brown addresses the neglected question of how slaves, who previously learned mainly through Afro-American oral tradition, adjusted to a formal classroom setting. He explores the tensions between white educational values and those of the black community, as education became part of the ex-slaves' struggle for autonomy during Reconstruction. Relevant in the best sense of the word, Wyatt-Brown's essay should be required reading by policy makers in education. During the Progressive Era, according to Joseph Kett, Southern

middle-class and upper-class women in the "social Progressive reform" tradition, extended their concern for the well being of the family into public activity. Kett shows the reformers' recognition of education as a means of promoting Progressive reforms.

This collection provides the reader with valuable sources for writing Southern history. In her essay on black women's reform activities in Tennessee, Kathleen Berkeley identifies unexplored sources, greatly contributing to the ongoing search for archival material relating to black women. Similarly J. Wayne Flynt combines different source material in his discussion of another understudied topic in Southern history: poor whites. Nine pages of citations follow Thomas G. Dyer's historiographical review of Southern higher education, making this work an essential starting point for researchers on the subject.

Although most of the book's essays fail to integrate the various themes of women, family, and education, Steven Stowe's essay on Southern elite women's education is an exception. Stowe's work interrelates all three subjects as he explores the subtle tensions between family, courtship, and the female world inside the academies.

While only Lorena S. Walsh's piece on colonial women in the Chesapeake specifically refers to Maryland, and is indispensable in understanding the region's early history, the rest of the essays will serve as guides to writers of Southern social history through the sources used and questions raised.

NORALEE FRANKEL
American Historical Association

The 1787 Census of Virginia. Compiled by Netti Schreiner-Yantis and Florence Speakman; foreword by Louis H. Manarin. (3 vols.; Springfield, Va.: Genealogical Books in Print, 1988. Pp. 2,000. $200.)

For almost all the original states the 1790 manuscript has survived, but not for Virginia—by far the largest state at that time. Fortunately we have tax lists for about that period, and in fact they convey more information than the census would have contained. The Virginia act required officials annually in March to "call on every person subject to taxation or having property in his or her possession for a written list thereof. . . ." Thus the compilation easily fulfils the 1790 census and indeed is more useful, noting every white male, not just heads of household.

This was a monumental task, and the three-volume set is clearly meant for libraries. The compilers thoughtfully have published lists for each county, to be sold separately. Undoubtedly this set can and will be used to great advantage by historians, genealogists, sociologists, demographers, and others. Highly recommended.

P. W. FILBY
Savage, Maryland

Morality and Utility in American Antislavery Reform. By Louis S. Gerteis. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. Pp. xvi, 263. Notes, bibliography, index. $27.50.)

In this volume Louis S. Gerteis re-examines the ideas of northern pre-Civil War opponents of slavery. Based on a careful reading of their speeches, letters, and publications, the book contains a number of arguments that will be familiar to students of the antebellum United States: antislavery leaders, for example, saw slavery as a violation of "republican values" and looked with greater sympathy on Whigs than on Democrats, whom they increasingly identified with the "slave power." The book also contains a boldly argued general thesis that is likely to be more controversial.

Gerteis sees opposition to slavery as reflecting the values of "an ascendant middle class"

(p. 21). Stressing the prevalence within the antislavery movement of utilitarian and free-labor ideas, he argues that these ideas represented a conscious effort to promote capitalism. "Antislavery reform expressed developing middle-class values in the most general sense," he proclaims. "Antislavery reformers extolled the unity of 'liberty' and 'business,' confident that the advancing democratic principle (which, as Wendell Phillips put it, crumbled classes into men) released individual creative and productive energies from the tyranny of past ages" (p. 43). But if before the war bourgeois values were at the heart of a progressive struggle against slavery, after the war those values lost their revolutionary potential and became part of a conservative defense of the status-quo, as former antislavery advocates increasingly abandoned southern freedmen to the mercy of market forces. "As champions of utilitarian values and liberal principles of public propriety," Gerteis asserts, "antislavery reformers led the northern reaction against Reconstruction in the name of reunion and the restoration of republican government to the South" (p. 190).

It is in the intensity and sweep of generalization that this thesis represents a departure from previous historical judgments. Historians have usually distinguished between abolitionists, whose oppostion to slavery was rooted in moral condemnation, and free-labor advocates, who stressed the degree to which slavery was economically and socially retrograde. Gerteis shuns such categorization, lumping together as "antislavery reformers" Garrisonian abolitionists, Liberty party advocates, free-soilers, radical Republicans, and conservative Republicans; although aware of significant differences among them, he portrays all as conscious representatives of northern middle-class interests. In doing so, he sees the free-labor critique of slavery as central to the ideology of not just the Republicans, but also the abolitionists; indeed, he detects major free-labor currents in the thought of abolitionists in the 1830s, and argues that from 1840 such currents "formed the intellectual core of the antislavery movement" (p. 71).

Gerteis's thesis is likely to be controversial for a couple of reasons. Some readers will be uncomfortable with his insistence that "antislavery reformers" represented not just purveyors of middle-class *values* but conscious exponents of middle-class *interests*. More important, his argument depends on blurring the admittedly often fuzzy line between abolitionists and other opponents of slavery, and placing free-labor views at the center of *all* opposition to slavery. Gerteis's effort to link the antislavery movement to northern social structure is commendable, and he performs an extremely valuable service in pointing to often ignored free-labor ideas among early abolitionists. Still, there is something troubling about an interpretation that depicts radical abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and conservative political economist Henry C. Carey as exponents of the same middle-class utilitarianism. Overgeneralization also bedevils Gerteis's treatment of the postwar period. While *some* opponents of slavery were willing, once victory was achieved, to leave the South to the untrammelled workings of the free market, it is surely an exaggeration to claim that "In social relations as in politics, reformers judged Reconstruction to be an obstacle to progress" (p. 197). It would be difficult to come up with a list of antislavery activists—both abolitionists and radical Republicans—who deviated from this utilitarian model of reformer turned conservative.

This is, then, a thoughtful and interesting but somewhat one-sided portrait of antislavery reform. Concerned with an extremely important question that might be termed the "social origins of the antislavery movement," Gerteis shows how "reform appealed strongly to elements of the middle class and expressed itself in terms of middle-class interests and values" (p. xiii). In doing so, he skillfully delineates a major strain of antislavery thought. At the same time, however, he portrays that strain as the essence of antislavery as a whole, and thus understates the diversity of his reformers.

PETER KOLCHIN
University of Delaware

Clara Barton: Professional Angel. By Elizabeth Brown Pryor. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987. Pp. xv, 444. Notes, index. $24.95.)

Even before the great surge of women's history during the last twenty years, most Americans would have recognized the name of Clara Barton. Barton was generally regarded as the person who demonstrated the courage and humane spirit of women in the face of battle, upgraded the status of nursing, and established the Red Cross in the United States. Some would have remembered that Barton also aided the feminist movement, advanced international diplomacy, championed black rights, and helped reform public education. Marylanders, moveover, might recall Barton's significant ties to their state: she gained national fame at the Battle of Antietam, her post-Civil War efforts to solve the nation's POW/MIA problems were conducted from Annapolis, and she lived many years at the Red Cross headquarters she established in Glen Echo, Maryland, on the Potomac River. Many readers of this journal have doubtless visited the Clara Barton National Historic Site at Glen Echo.

Behind the legendary persona, however, Elizabeth Brown Pryor has discovered a deeply troubled human being. Barton suffered throughout her life from fits of depression and debilitation that prostrated her for years at a time, and Barton never overcame a relentless tendency to believe that everyone else, even her close associates, wanted the glory she considered her own. Barton's family was plagued by accident, disease, insanity, financial scandal, and suicide. Barton was manipulative and autocratic in her personal relations with others and she ran her business affairs, not to mention those of the Red Cross, on what might be labeled a "trust me" basis. In fact, the public's trust appears not to have been abused, for Barton did not amass much money during her long career of public service and she frequently drew upon her own funds to help public agencies avoid embarrassing fiscal situations. But Barton engineered a parliamentary coup within the Red Cross rather than turn its affairs over to people who could run it more responsibly, and that intransigence nearly destroyed the organization.

Pryor does not diminish Barton's considerable achievements, however, and quite rightly highlights some that deserve more emphasis than they have previously received. Barton's persistent crusade to browbeat Congress into ratifying the Geneva Conventions, for example, was an important step away from Monroe Doctrine isolationism in the United States. Barton's notion that the Red Cross should expand its efforts beyond battlefields to include peacetime disasters, which she first adopted as a tactic to increase the public visibility of the Red Cross, ended up influencing profoundly the development of that agency here and abroad. Barton also recognized the value of disseminating a basic knowledge of first-aid techniques throughout the general public, and, on a time-and-money basis, it would be difficult to come up with a more effective social investment than her first-aid campaign and its sequels. Finally, Barton does seem to have been at her best in the face of disaster. Modern readers tend to forget the proportions of some of those disasters: the Sea Island hurricane of 1894 killed 5,000 people outright and the Galveston hurricane of 1900 killed close to 6,000. Property in both areas was almost entirely destroyed. Barton went personally to both those sites and dozens of others, and she had an almost charismatic ability to galvanize people out of their shock and get them working to overcome the crisis at hand.

This book is a thick read. A small type font makes it even longer than its 444 pages would suggest. Pryor's attention to the voluminous primary evidence about Barton's life (some 100,000 pieces, including extensive personal diaries, some of which were discovered behind brick walls at Glen Echo) is commendable, but there is too much detail of marginal or unexplained importance. In that respect the book is resolutely biographical in its

approach, as distinguished from historical. Pryor seldom places her mass of material into larger historiographical contexts. There are no efforts to deal seriously, for example, with such issues as professionalization (the subtitle, apparently meant to be ironic, notwithstanding), the role of women who become public examplars of feminism by playing to men and suppressing other women, the public's need for symbolic personifications, or the usefulness of medical and psychological insights to an understanding of personalities like Barton. Few recent secondary works in related areas are cited, even the recent scholarship on other prominent women of the nineteenth century.

In short, Barton's life is surely described in this book more fully than ever before, and people in Maryland and elsewhere who are curious about this legendary figure will find a great deal to interest them in this large, well-researched volume. The information Pryor offers is inherently intriguing and significant. But Barton's life is essentially laid out here in great detail, not really analyzed; the big questions remain.

JAMES C. MOHR
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars. Edited by Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel, and Margaret Collins Weitz. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987. Pp. vii, 310. Illustrations, index. $22.50.)

The title of this fine anthology describes its contents and methodologies. Editors and contributors describe the female experience on the homefront in France, England, Germany, and the United States, behind the lines, during the two world wars. To do so they read behind the lines of social policies, work structures, literary texts, propaganda imagery, and oral reminiscences to tease out and explicate their meanings. The authors are students of literature, psychology, sociology, and history. With the exception of three chapters previously published in other formats, the contributions are new. Most are relatively short and beg for further development, but together they give credence to two introductory calls for new conceptualizations of war.

Joan W. Scott asks historians to explore the politics of gender within the politics of war, and believes the authors have successfully begun that search. In insightful and disturbing ways, contributors discover that men fought women and the possibility of change in gender constructs and sexual relationships as they fought each other in combat. Elaine Showalter finds the prototype of male anxiety over elusive combat heroism in the personal experience of Siegfried Sassoon. His shellshock and that of thousands of his comrades were reactions to threatened ideals of manhood. Sandra Gilbert finds that men's self-doubts are not just internalized but manifest themselves in overt fears of female empowerment. After the battlefield slaughter, did not men envision women emerging the "triumphant survivors and destined inheritors," she asks (p. 209). Gilbert and Susan Gubar explore male anxieties in the misogynous portrayal of women as threatening spies and death-dealing temptresses in propaganda posters and especially in the literary works of male writers during and immediately after both wars.

A number of the chapters focus on public policies and their underlying discourse, which consistently submerged women's diverse wartime experiences within the rhetoric of traditional familial values and patriotic ideals. Karin Hausen describes German war widows during and after World War I who received such inadequate pensions that they suffered economic deprivation, physical deterioration, and social dislocation. Their plight was ignored as their dead husbands were exalted by political leaders. The wives of French prisoners during World War II received greater financial aid from the Vichy government, according to Sarah Fishman, but they were mandated to preserve the idea of patriarchal

structure and family roles as they struggled physically and emotionally as single parents. Steven Hause, Denise Riley, and Jane Jensen examine French and British pronatalist social policy after 1918 and 1945. They convince us that men reinforced their dominance and successfully translated the ideology of motherhood into public policy quickly and purposefully. Little wonder that Joan Scott asks if there is a connection "between official silence on (or minimalization of) misery and death and the loud discussions of maternal and child welfare" (p. 29).

That war brings transformation in its wake is undeniable. How positive and lasting changes are for women is the second major theme of this collection. Margaret R. Higonnet and Partice L.-R. Higonnet suggest a means for closer analysis and evaluation. They propose the symbol of the double helix moving up and down the pole of political advances, economic opportunity and social change, with one spiral always higher (superior) to the other. Ruth Milkman demonstrates how appropriate a symbol it is. American women made great strides in industrial employment and union membership during World War II, but their gains were working-class ones. Their special needs as women were ignored by the male leadership of labor organizations. Postwar discourse and policy indicate how rapidly the female helix retreats downward as women's gains as workers revert to ideals of women as mothers. Riley is especially sensitive to the treacherous tightrope advocates of support programs for working mothers walk, emphasizing women as a category without falling into the net of maternal glorification.

These brief overviews just hint at the richness of this collection. While it leaves the reader intellectually exuberant, it is distressing as well. In the final chapter, Annemarie Tröger mines the hidden meanings of the memories of one German woman who survived aerial bombardment among other dislocations. She conveys a portrait of a passive, helpless victim who, Tröger insightfully suggests, is also absolved of guilt and complicity in the rise of Hitler and the ensuing military disaster. This reading becomes, in many ways, a metaphor for the portrayal of women throughout this collection. There are, to be sure, descriptions of a vibrant French women's movement at the turn of the century, of women writers who recognized the liberating potential of war as well as the furious counterattack of their male counterparts, of women resisters in wartime France. But the overall sense conveyed in these essays is one of the female commitment to traditional values—or at best ambivalence—that implies complicity in as well as surrender to political and social reaction. The intensity of the male assault is convincing, but in the exposition the self-actualizing, positive, and even combative activities of many women are difficult to discern. No male victory is greater than one that perpetuates the image of women as acquiescent objects of oppression.

LOUIS SCHARF
Case Western Reserve University

The NAACP's Legal Strategy Against Segregated Education, 1925–1950. By Mark V. Tushnet. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1987. Pp. xiv, 222. Notes, bibliography, index. $29.95, cloth; $9.95 paper.)

In this rewarding study, Mark V. Tushnet, a professor of law at the Georgetown University Law Center, traces the NAACP's legal campaign against segregated education from its beginnings in the mid-1920s down to the 1950 decision directly to attack segregation in public elementary and secondary schools. More than a narrative account, the book also provides an interpretive case study of public interest law and of what Tushnet calls "the conception of litigation as a social process" (pp. xiv, 143–44).

The greater part of the book is given over to recounting the evolution of the NAACP's

legal strategy to combat segregated education. After a decade or so of uncertain direction, the NAACP's legal campaign came under the crucial leadership of Charles Hamilton Houston in the mid-1930s and for the next fifteen years focused especially on access to public graduate and professional schools and on equalizing the salaries paid to black and white teachers. Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in Tushnet's account of the important roles of Baltimore's Thurgood Marshall and of the 1930s cases won by Marshall in Maryland. By World War II, the NAACP had achieved signal victories in federal courts with respect to university access and salary equality (the *Gaines* and *Alston* cases), but further progress along those lines was largely stymied over the next decade by local resistance and adaptation, the complexities of individual cases, and the time and expense involved in litigation.

From the beginning, however, the NAACP had also envisioned a campaign against unequal funding and facilities in public elementary and secondary schools. Internal disagreement and the obivous costs and difficulties of such cases had helped restrict action in that area, but in the 1940s a number of forces combined to focus attention on public schools—and to produce the frontal attack on segregation rather than inequality. Not only did the university and salary cases encounter difficulties, but Marshall and many of the NAACP lawyers grew increasingly impatient for a direct attack on segregation. At the same time, such late 1940s developments as the Truman administration's political needs and policy directions and the Cold War competition with the Soviet Union changed the external situation in ways that supported an attack on segregation. So, too, did the growing importance of "legal realism" and sociological argument in segregation cases. The decisive turning point came with *Sweatt* v. *Painter* (and the accompanying *McLaurin* case), where the NAACP alleged not only physical, tangible disparities between black and white law schools but also intangible disparities. When the Supreme Court upheld the NAACP's side in 1950, it appeared that separate facilities could not be adjudged equal and thus that the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* precedent was in tatters. The NAACP then decided to press a direct attack on segregated education, a strategy that eventuated in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*.

Essentially ending his account at 1950 with the *Sweatt* case and the decision to attack segregation directly, Tushnet in his conclusion turns to several interpretive issues. The NAACP's campaign from 1925 on, he argues, was characterized not by a consistent long-term plan but rather by flexibility and changing targets of opportunity as organizational considerations and the course of litigation dictated. Because the NAACP's decisions were often based on the needs of the organization, Tushnet reflects on the ethics of public interest law and concludes that the NAACP acted properly with respect to clients and the black community. Tushnet also assesses the relative roles of internal (organizational) factors as against external factors in the course and decisions of the NAACP legal campaign and finds the former to have been far more important.

An instructive and insightful study, Tushnet's book is not beyond criticism. The narrative, lacking the sweep and flair of Richard Kluger's *Simple Justice* (New York, 1975), tends at times to be a bit more abrupt, narrowly focused, and condensed than it might be. Too, Tushnet describes more than he defines his notion of "litigation as a social process," which seems sometimes to amount largely to organizational process (with the determinative roles of institutional dynamics and needs and of personal proclivities and abilities). And while Tushnet makes a convincing case for the large importance of individuals and organizational factors, readers might well ask if he sufficiently credits external social, economic, and political forces. The fact that the book is written substantially from the perspective of research in the archives of the NAACP's national office may help explain the

interpretive weight on internal and organizational factors as well as the limits of the narrative.

But this review should end by emphasizing the book's impressive virtues and strengths. Full of shrewd assessments of institutions and individuals and trenchant analyses of law and litigation, Tushnet's carefully considered study provides an illuminating and thought-provoking account of the NAACP's legal campaign against segregated education. It is a significant addition to the literature on the NAACP, the struggle against Jim Crow, and the nature of public interest law in modern America.

JOHN W. JEFFRIES
University of Maryland, Baltimore County

Books Received

The history of Maryland ties in closely with that of the Catholic church in the United States and of the Society of Jesus in America. The *Woodstock Letters,* published at the order's Woodstock, Maryland, province house between 1872 and 1969, contain a wealth of information about the Jesuits' work in this country and abroad. Now the academic editions division of the Congressional Information Service in Bethesda has published *Woodstock Letters: A Historical Journal of Jesuit Educational and Missionary Activities, A Guide to the Microfiche Collection.* Robert C. Carriker, editorial advisor, has overseen publication of the guide (198 pp.) and written an introduction to the collection, catalogued by volume and indexed by names and titles. A valuable resource for anyone working in church or social history.

CIS, $45

Two Maryland classics are available in new editions. William L. Andrews has edited and written an introduction to Frederick Douglass's *My Bondage and My Freedom,* the Talbot slave's memorable autobiography and a "must" read for every student of the state.

University of Illinois, $34.95 (cloth), $10.95 (paper)

Believing that "there is no more interesting way to study history than by reading first hand accounts of the participants," a Bowie publishing house has reprinted in paperback Clayton Colman Hall's *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684,* an old favorite originally published in 1910.

Heritage Books, $25

The Library of Congress recently published volume 14 in its *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774–1789* series. This volume covers 1 October 1779 to 31 March 1780 and offers rich resource materials on issues of paper currency and military supply. Paul H. Smith, Gerald W. Gawalt, and Ronald M. Gephart continue capably as editors of the mammoth project. Order from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., 20402.

Library of Congress, $28

North Carolina, home of one of the region's most active state historical publications programs, announces the appearance of volume 11 of *North Carolina Troops, 1861–1865: A Roster,* Weymouth T. Jordan, Jr., editor. In more than 500 pages this installment—covering the 45th through 48th regiments of infantry—contains the names, birth dates and places, ages at enlistment, and service records of more than 7,000 soldiers. Two dollars for postage and handling must accompany orders.

North Carolina Division of Archives and History, $27

Individuals who publish abstracts of the federal census usually content themselves with copying, publishing, and indexing the lists of free inhabitants. Anne Covington Kidd has published *Queen Anne's County 1850 Census,* and included not only free inhabitants but slave schedules, mortality schedules, agriculture and industry schedules, as well as social statistics. The slave schedules give the names of the slave owners and the age and sex (but not the names) of the slaves. The mortality schedules list the name, age, sex, color, free or slave, marital status, place of birth, month of death (for the year preceding the census),

profession, and cause of death, as well as the number of days ill. The agricultural schedules list the names of farmers, number of acres of improved land, acres of unimproved land, cash value of the farm, and the value of farming implements. The industrial schedules list the names of companies or individuals producing articles of annual value of $500, name of the business, the amount of real and personal estate invested in the business, quantities of raw materials used, and other data including the number of male and female hands employed. Social statistics contain information about schools, libraries, newspapers, churches, and wages in the county. This is truly a work that genealogists and social historians alike will want to have. It will serve as a model for future census publications.

Family Line, $10

R. Bernice Leonard of St. Michaels, Maryland, has published four books of Talbot County land records, containing abstracts of the first twelve volumes of conveyances and other items from the deed books covering the years 1662–1712. *Talbot County, Maryland, Land Records, Book One* includes abstracts from deed books I and II. *Book Two* draws from volumes III, IV, and V, while *Book Three* contains abstracts of deed books VI, VII, VIII, and part of IX. *Book Four* abstracts from the remainder of volume IX, all of X and XI, and part of volume XII. In addition to deeds of conveyance, the books contain abstracts of indentures, receipts, powers of attorney, land commissions and depositions. There is a separate index for each volume, so each will contain several indices. Given the vast amount of genealogical data to be found in the county land records, the compiler is to be commended for making this material available to researchers. The books are a must for anyone doing research on Eastern Shore families.

Privately printed, $12.50 (*Book One*), $13.50 (rest of set)

Wills are one of the first genealogical sources researchers turn to, and carefully done abstracts are extremely helpful because they eliminate unnecessary legal phraseology and contain an index to heirs, witnesses, and executors not found in the original volume. Ruth T. Dryden of San Diego, California, has abstracted several volumes of Worcester and Somerset County wills, deeds, and other materials, and her newest publication, *Worcester County, Maryland, Will Book JW, 1790–1799,* is but the latest in a series of will books she has abstracted and published. The wills are arranged as they appear in the original record, with the folios of the original book given. Abstracts include the name of the testator, the date the will was signed, and the date it was admitted to probate. In addition to persons named in the will, Ms. Dryden has included names of land tracts when they were given in the will, and names of executors and witnesses. There is a full name index of all individuals, and the names of the testators are underlined for ease in locating the will. Users of the book will want to remember that the numbers in the index are to the original liber, and not to the page of Ms. Dryden's abstracts. The compiler's numerous publications of Worcester and Somerset County source materials have made her an expert on the families of the area, and her book will be helpful to anyone researching families in the area.

Privately printed, $7

Genealogical records for the District of Columbia have not been published to any great extent. That gap is partially filled by publication of F. Edward Wright's *Marriage Licenses of Washington, D.C., 1811 through 1830.* The compiler states in the introduction that records from three different sources were used: records held by the Marriage Bureau; copies made by Homer Walker; and copies made by the DAR records committee. Each license is entered twice—under both the bride's and the groom's names, with the date of the

license. Among the Maryland families whose members were married in Washington are the Bealls, Magruders, Sotgorons, and Spaldings. Maryland family historians cannot afford to overlook this valuable resource.

Family Line, $10

Those who find royal dynasties more interesting than *Dynasty* will find fascinating reading in Marlene A. Eilers' *Queen Victoria's Descendants*. The first part of the book contains biographical sketches of the descendants of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert and each of their children, while the second half of the book is devoted to a genealogical account of 670 descendants of the royal couple. Endnotes, a bibliography, and an index all add to the book's usefulness, but one of the most charming features of the book is its collection of photographs, which are in themselves a social history of royalty's image. The engagement, wedding, and family groups of the nineteenth century, formally posed and showing few smiles, give way to the more casual, relaxed (in a few cases almost too relaxed) poses of the latter half of the twentieth century. It took the author ten years to compile this book, and the result is a fascinating story and a useful reference book that historians and royalty watchers alike will want to have.

Genealogical Publishing Company, $29.95

Genealogists often know that country boundaries have changed many times, but they are not always familiar with the exact changes. In *Map Guide to the U.S. Federal Censuses, 1790–1920,* William Thorndale and William Dillarhide have produced a series of maps and a readable text that will supply the missing information. Following an introduction treating the history, records and completeness of the federal censuses, the compilers have compiled a series of maps showing boundary changes, first of the United States, and second of individual states from 1790 through each decennial year down to 1920. The seven maps of Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia show present county names and boundaries in white with the names and boundaries as they existed in the given year of the map displayed in black. The page for each map also contains a list of what census records are available for that year. Genealogists, historians, and demographers will find this volume extremely helpful, from the introductory essay through the list of counties for each state, to the bibliography of state sources.

Genealogical Publishing Company, $49.95

Montgomery County, created from Frederick County in 1776, has been missing its earliest book of marriage licenses since the start of the nineteenth century. Janet Thompson Manuel has now published some 8,700 marriage licenses (starting with the earliest extant ones) in *Marriage Licenses, Montgomery County, Maryland, 1798–1898*. The entries were made from photocopies of the original records, and there is one alphabetical listing for both brides and grooms. Entries contain the names of the parties, the date of the license, and—when it appeared in the record—the applicant's race. Many names are cross referenced to variations in spelling. Where the entry was only partially legible, a footnote at the bottom of the page so indicates. The compiler, who has published other Montgomery County source records, has produced an extremely valuable work which is highly recommended.

Family Line, $16

News and Notices

Fall–Winter Exhibits at the Maryland Historical Society

"Maryland Quilts and their Crazy Offspring" and "Rescued from Destruction: The Acquisition of the Calvert Papers" highlight the fall calendar at the Maryland Historical Society. Opening 30 September and running through the last of December, the quilt exhibit features more than thirty Maryland quilts and accessories and seeks to illuminate women's roles as artisans in late-nineteenth-century America. Curators have scheduled a Quilt Symposium for 21 October. "Rescued from Destruction," opening on 16 October, illustrates the dramatic rescue a century ago of a rare and valuable collection of Maryland historic documents. The manuscripts exhibit will remain open until the end of March.

Calls for Papers

The 1989 "Smoking Pipe Conference," sponsored by the Arthur C. Parker Fund for Iroquois Research, will meet at Rochester, New York, 10–11 June 1989. The conference seeks to bring together archaeologists and ethnographers interested in smoking pipe trade relationships, religious practices, and manufacturing techniques and designs. For further information contact Charles F. Hayes III, Research Director, Rochester Museum and Science Center, Rochester, New York 14603.

Students of western United States history are invited to submit brief summaries of papers to the program committee of the Western Historical Association, which will meet 11–14 October in Tacoma, Washington. Send proposals to John D. W. Guice, Department of History, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg, Mississippi 39406.

Index Available for *New York History*

The New York State Historical Association announces that a comprehensive index to ten volumes of *New York History*—all issues published between January 1976 and October 1985—may be ordered from the association through the Fenimore Book Store, Cooperstown, New York 13326. The hardcover volume costs $13.50 including postage.

Awards Presented in Florida

The Florida Historical Society annually awards three literary prizes for original work done in Florida History. These awards were announced at the 1988 meeting held in Miami on 12–13 May.

The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida history for 1987–1988 was awarded to Dr. Gary R. Mormino, University of South Florida, for his article, "Florida Slave Narratives," which appeared in the April 1988 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award went to the late Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University, for his book *Creeks and Seminoles: Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People,* which was published by the University of Nebraska Press.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Book Award was presented to Robert Hawk of St. Augustine for his book, *Florida's Army: Militia, State Troops and National Guard, 1565–1985*. Mr. Hawk's book was published by Pineapple Press of Sarasota.

The Florida Historical Society has established two new awards—the President's Prizes—which will recognize outstanding essays in Florida history submitted by graduate and undergraduate students working in Florida colleges and universities. The graduate student prize this year was shared by Jane Landers, University of Florida, and George Klos,

Florida State University. The undergraduate student awards went to Milton O. Polk, University of South Florida (first prize), and Jack McClellan, University of North Florida (second prize).

New Market Days Scheduled

The Town of New Market in eastern Frederick County will stage its 29th annual New Market Days—a festival of food, crafts, entertainment, and antiques—23–25 September 1988. Entered in the National Register as an historic district, the town offers an excellent example of Federal-period architecture. The public is cordially invited to attend.

Delaware Art Museum Announces Holiday House Tour Date

The Museum Council of the Delaware Art Museum will host the 4th annual Holiday House Tour on Sunday, 4 December 1988 from 12 noon to 5 p.m. This year's Holiday House Tour Chairman is Mrs. Kirk Mearns. The tour will include elegant and unique homes in the Wilmington area with a stop at the Delaware Art Museum for the annual Open House and Holiday Party. A special feature of the day will be the deliciously decorated gingerbread houses, made by Museum Council members and famous local chefs to be sold at the Museum that afternoon. Tickets for the tour are $10 in advance, $12 on the day of the tour, and will be available in November from the Delaware Art Museum. All proceeds from the House Tour and gingerbread sale will benefit the Delaware Art Museum.

For more information on the House Tour, contact Margaret Crescenzi at the Delaware Art Museum, 302/571-9590.

Maryland Picture Puzzle

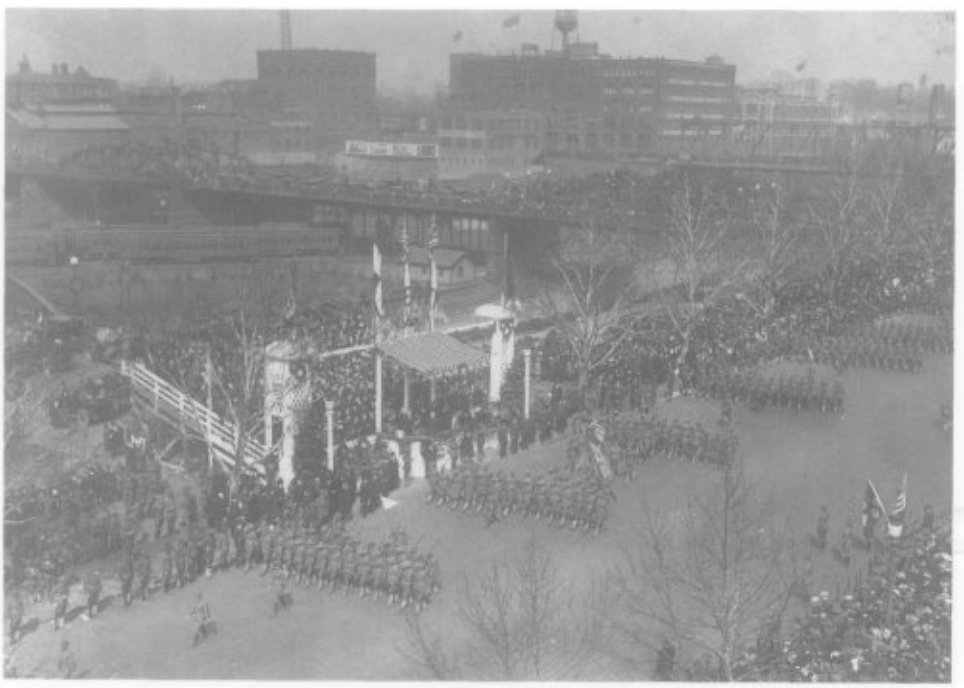
Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle presents a photograph from the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society Library. Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying this Baltimore scene. What street is pictured; when was the photograph taken?

The summer 1988 puzzle depicted the north-east corner of Eutaw and Franklin streets in Baltimore, taken circa 1945-1950. The Maryland Theater appears in the right margin of the image. Built in 1903, the theater was torn down in early 1951 and replaced with a parking lot (outlines of the mezzanine and balconies are still visible on the wall of the Congress Hotel). Other buildings in the photo disappeared one by one, and a parking lot now covers the entire site.

The following persons correctly identified the spring 1988 puzzle: Mr. Carlos P. Avery; Mr. Wayne R. Schaumburg; and Mr. John Riggs Orrick.

Please send your response to:

Prints and Photographs Division
Maryland Historical Society
Baltimore, Maryland 21201



ADVERTISING RATES AND POLICY FOR THE *MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*

This quarterly is published by the Maryland Historical Society and reaches nearly 6,000 subscribers who have broad interests in Maryland history and culture.

	One-time rate	Two-time rate	Four-time rate
Full-page ad	$275	$225	$175
1/2-page ad	200	160	115
1/4-page ad	125	100	85
Classified (approx. 1″) (classified ads must run at least four issues)	—	—	30

Camera-ready advertisements should be submitted by the following deadlines:

Spring issue: January 15
Summer issue: April 15
Fall issue: July 15
Winter issue: October 15

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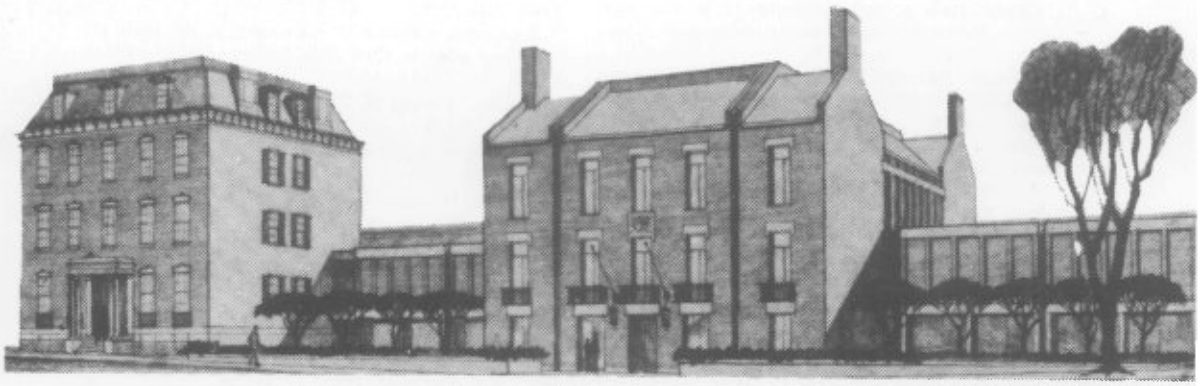

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